

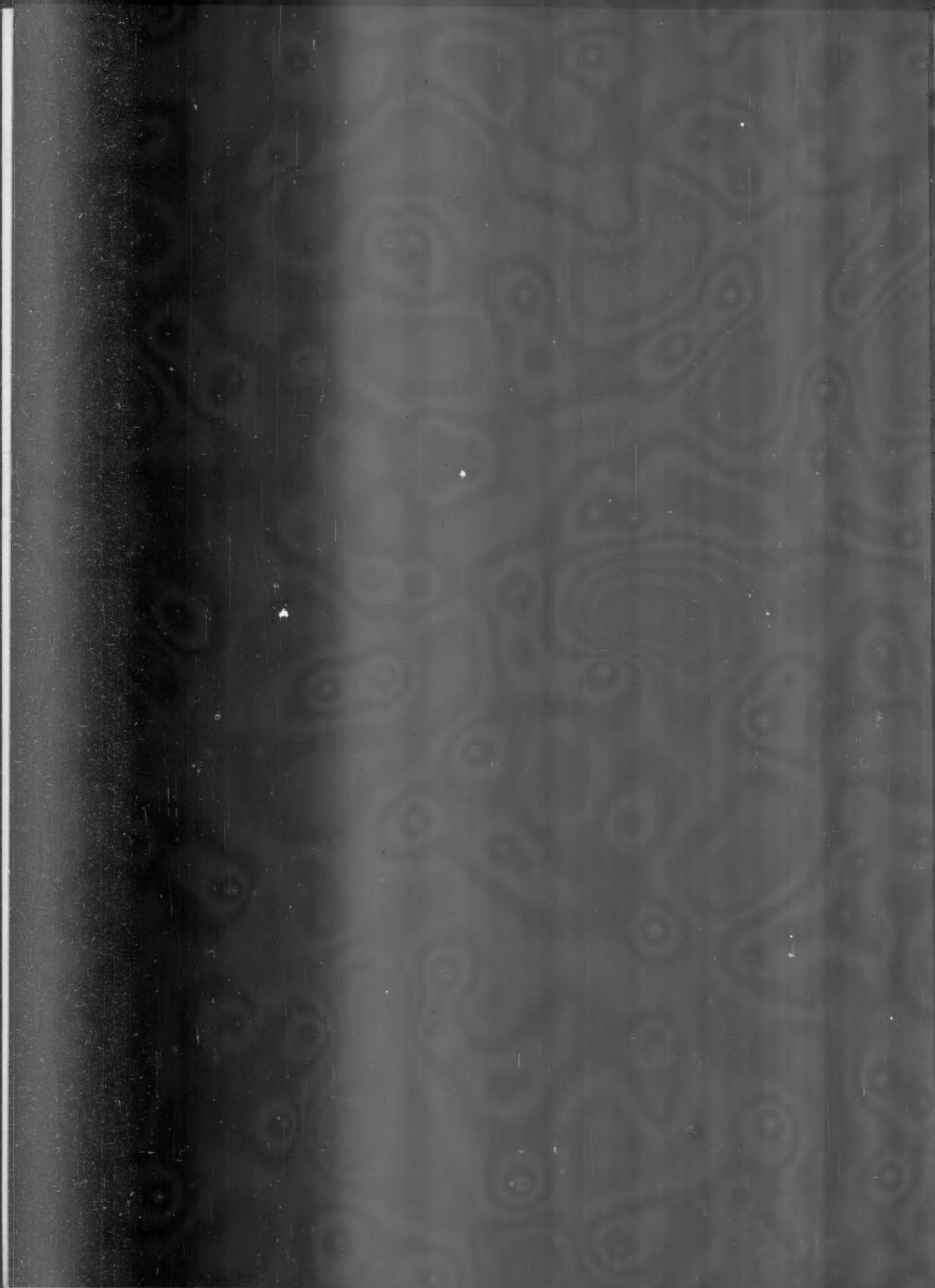
JAN 1951

THE ART BULLETIN

A QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

DECEMBER 1950
VOLUME XXXIII
NUMBER FOUR



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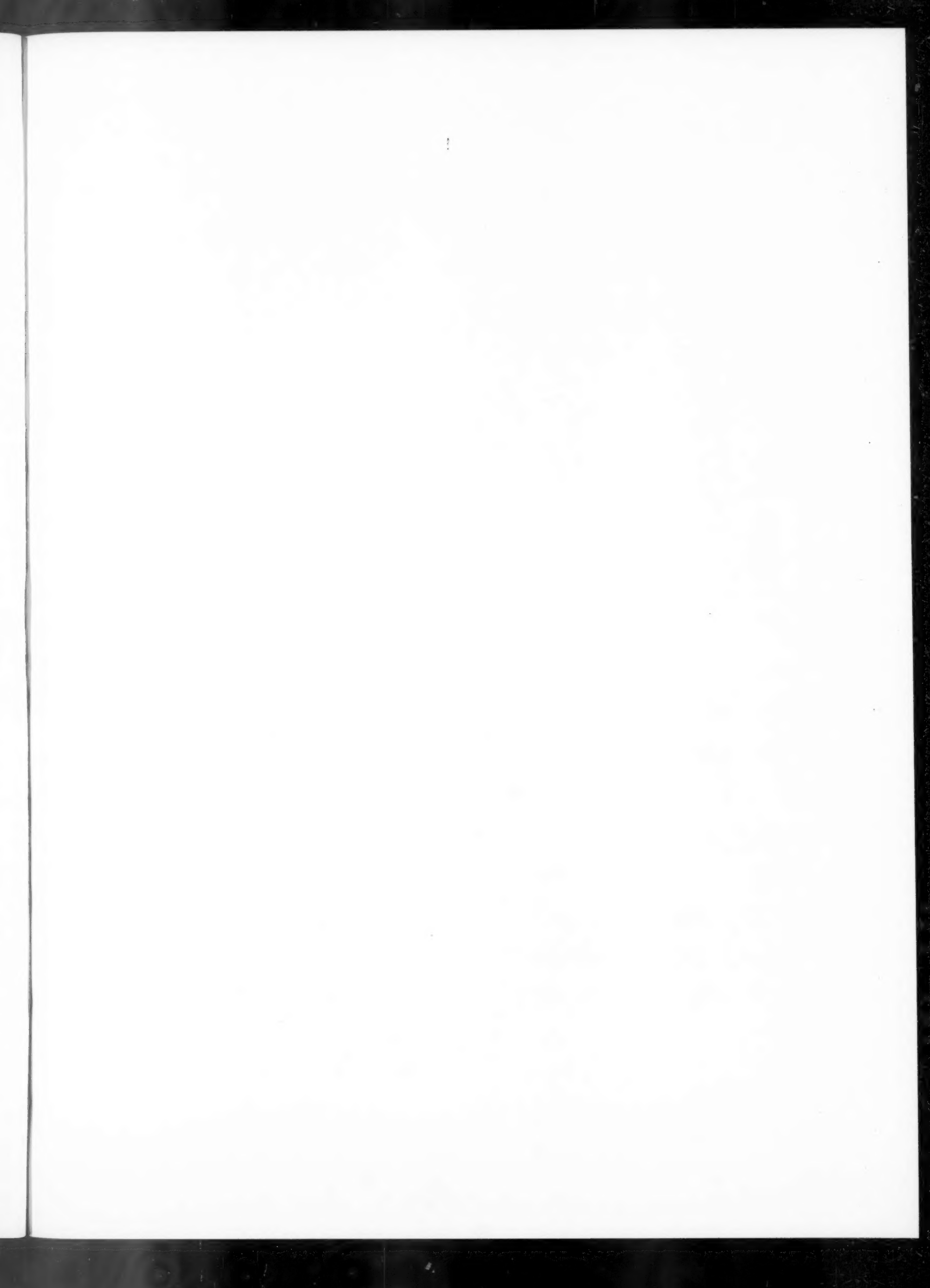
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THIS NUMBER OF THE ART BULLETIN
CONTAINING ARTICLES BY HIS FORMER STUDENTS

IS DEDICATED TO

CHARLES RUFUS MOREY

IN ADMIRATION AND WITH AFFECTION
AS A TOKEN OF GRATITUDE FOR
THE ABIDING INSPIRATION OF HIS TEACHING
AND IN RECOGNITION OF
THE FRUITFULNESS OF HIS SCHOLARSHIP



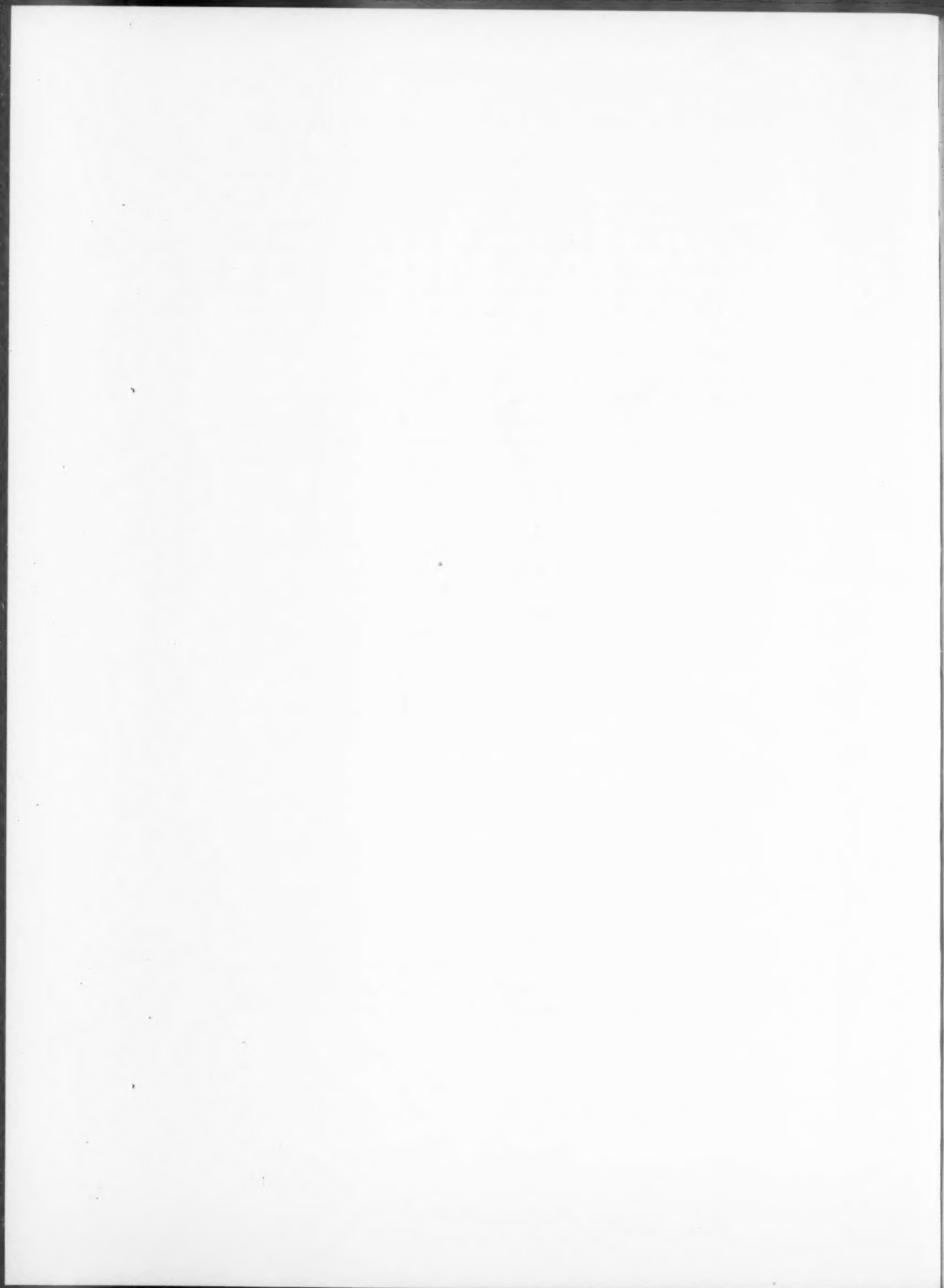
LIST OF ARTICLES CONTRIBUTED

SOME of the articles listed below have not been published in this number. Exigencies of production and space necessitated limiting this issue to about one-half of the articles submitted, a unit satisfied precisely by the mediaeval group. Of the unpublished articles many will appear in future numbers of THE ART BULLETIN or elsewhere, physically apart from this number but none the less intended to communicate each author's admiration and respect.

Although the articles which are published here (*) are those which stand closest to Professor Morey's own special interests, the very diversity of the complete list testifies to the pervasive quality and inspiration of his teaching. Many more former students of Professor Morey hoped to contribute studies in his honor than this list suggests, but were deterred by circumstances which they could not control or by an understandable reluctance to submit for this occasion anything but their finest work, which at this moment they were unable to prepare or complete. Nor was it possible to include contributions from the many who had enjoyed his teaching outside his own department.

- Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *"Luxe, calme et volupté" and "Le Luxe"—a Matisse Problem*
 Franklin M. Biebel, *The "Angelot" of Jean Barbet* (*)
 Arthur Edwin Bye, *The Holy Trinity—an Estofado Wood Carving*
 David Coffin, *Tintoretto and the Medici Tombs*
 Walter W. S. Cook, *Wooden Altar Frontals from Castile* (*)
 Glanville Downey, *Justinian as a Builder* (*)
 George H. Forsyth, Jr., *St. Martin's at Angers and the Evolution of Early Mediaeval Church Towers* (*)
 William H. Forsyth, *Provincial Roman Enamels Recently Acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (*)
 Harald Ingholt, *Some Dated Sculptures from Roman Asia Minor*
 Andrew S. Keck, *Observations on the Iconography of Joshua* (*)
 Clark D. Lamberton, *The Accidental Factor in Constituting Isolation in Early Christian Art* (*)
 E. Parker Lesley, *Paul Klee and the Paradox of the Ludicrous*
 John R. Martin, *An Early Illustration of The Sayings of the Fathers* (*)
 Paul F. Norton, *Latrobe and Old West at Dickinson College*
 Ransom R. Patrick, *John Neagle, Portrait Painter, and Pat Lyon, Blacksmith*
 Edgar C. Schenck, *Our Responsibility to the Artist*
 Helmut Schlunk, *The Crosses of Oviedo, a Contribution to the History of Jewelry in Northern Spain in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, in THE ART BULLETIN, xxxii, 1950, pp. 91-114
 Carl D. Sheppard, Jr., *A Chronology of Romanesque Sculpture in Campania* (*)
 Joseph C. Sloane, *Paul Chenavard and the Panthéon*
 W. Frederick Stohlman, *The Star Group of Champlevé Enamels and its Connections* (*)
 Dimitri Tselos, *The Joshua Roll: Original or Copy?* (*)
 J. Carson Webster, *Junius R. Sloan (1827-1900): A Study in Nineteenth Century American Art*

The Meriden Gravure Company of Meriden, Connecticut,
 has kindly contributed the frontispiece of this issue.



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THE ACCIDENTAL FACTOR IN CONSTITUTING ISOLATION IN EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

CLARK D. LAMBERTON

THE purpose of this paper is to invite attention to a largely ignored factor in constituting isolation as it developed in Early Christian art of the west, viz. that of accident. The following observations purport to be a supplement to the various reasons advanced to explain the decline of naturalistic rendering of narrative subjects in the last centuries of Roman-Hellenistic art.¹

Christian art in the west began in the Roman catacombs and this circumstance conditioned its development as well as its essential character, and herein is discovered the factor of accident in establishing the sense of isolation in episode themes.² The galleries and rooms of the Roman catacombs, being underground, are very unpromising places for the art of the mural decorator. The air for some eight months of the year is not bad, but in the heat of summer there is excessive humidity. Artificial light, the feeble illumination of olive-oil lamps, was required. Awkward and tiring poses had to be assumed, especially for arches and lunettes of arcosolia and on scaffolding for ceiling designs.

All this invited hasty execution, rapid brushwork, and condensed composition of narrative episode, with emphasis on figures and relationships, all on one plane, but with none on environment. Figures thus became isolated from environment and descriptive data, from real space, light and shade, perspective, planes and scale, from all the apparatus of illusionism. They existed in neutral light and space, anticipating the ideal space of subsequent styles. Figures were organized in mutual and formal relationships and became significant in themselves. They were isolated from all interests save those of ideal concepts suggested by the subjects depicted. The result was symbolism of a startlingly effective character.

When we consider the singular location of the paintings it is not surprising that the execution of

1. Isolation in East Christian art is not included in this study. The breakdown of Hellenistic illusionism is seen to be inevitable when one reviews the various and divergent purposes active in the complex society of the Roman Empire. One good cause for the breakdown runs through all of the styles identified in the process: decline in the discipline of technique especially in the third and fourth centuries. These matters have been handled competently by a host of scholars. The formal aspects of the consequent Latin style are generally recognized, particularly the frontal isolation of the figure.

2. Published in the well-known corpus of Joseph Wilpert, *Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, 2 vols., Freiburg im Breisgau, 1901 (also in Italian). Examples were first published in the work of Antonio Bosio, *Roma sotterranea*, Rome, 1632. The paintings have been dated and interpreted independently by L. von Sybel, O. Wulff, P. Styger, and many others. The earliest examples are discussed by Fritz Wirth in *Römische Wandmalerei vom Untergang Pompejis bis ans Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1934. This book, a notable product of German scholarship between the wars, has the merit of assembling examples of mural decoration discovered in the Golden House of Nero, sundry Roman tombs, houses at Ostia, and Jewish, Syncretist, and Gnostic underground rooms, espe-

cially those on the Viale Manzoni. Wirth includes the earliest Christian examples, the Lucina section of the catacomb of Callixtus, the Flavian gallery of Domitilla, and the Greek Chapel of Priscilla. The earliest date he assigns to any of these is 220 (pp. 168ff.) and he asserts that there is no Christian painting before the third century (p. 226). His chronology is in striking variance with that of Wilpert, notably his placing of the Greek Chapel at the end of the second or beginning of the third century, or perhaps in the interval 320-350 (p. 215), whereas Wilpert dates it in the early second century. Wirth does not refer to Wilpert at all, except twice for illustrative material, and ignores completely his archaeological criteria as well as the voluminous technical articles by numerous scholars in Cabrol's *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*. He does, however, attack the conclusions of J. B. de Rossi in his *Roma sotterranea* and other writings. Wirth's refusal to take Wilpert seriously is unfortunate and the result is confusing, as, for example, his reservation of illusionism for a style of the third century. Caution should be exercised in evaluating his dating of Christian paintings, notwithstanding the finality of his judgments. I prefer to adhere to the older usage, but the question makes little difference for the theme of this paper.

the frescoes was sketchy and that the painters, unpretentious persons at best and not graced by artistic competence, tended to shorten their labor, omitting accessories of location and detail and concentrating on essentials, just enough to enable the informed observer to identify the episode depicted. To this must be added the obvious fact that the pictures were to be viewed only at intervals, as people, in small groups, had occasion to visit the catacombs. In this respect they manifestly differed from house decoration as executed within the city.³

As the figures became abstracted from circumstance, with consequent concentration on essentials, it must have been noted that the condensed compositions called attention to their significance in Christian thought and doctrine and thus became symbols. By definition the true function of a symbol is to stimulate and liberate ideas, all of which is a personal—not a social—experience and which relies upon the spiritual resources of the individual. Its freedom is its active characteristic. Any example in catacomb painting assumes knowledge of the episode depicted and is without meaning to one not acquainted with the Scripture. But to the person who does know the Biblical text the range of thought set free in the catacomb cycle is unlimited. Modern interpretation must endeavor to restrict itself to the popular thought of the first four centuries and may at times be in error since reference to the themes in Patristic literature is slight and enigmatic; but the symbolic character of the paintings is manifest, whatever may be our mistakes in interpretation.

A revealing example is the sketch of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac in the catacomb of Callixtus in the latter half of the second century.⁴ The episode was analyzed, essential ingredients were selected (Abraham, Isaac, the altar, bundle of faggots, ram and tree) and organized in an axial composition with the figures in formal frontality and in isolation but effectively united in their suggestion of the symbolism of faith and other concepts as the observer might devise.

The theme of the Woman of Samaria is another striking illustration.⁵ Christ and the woman are depicted in the relation of conversation, but the vital object in the painting is the well. The manifest theme is that of the water of eternal life, like the Fountain of Life in Gothic painting. Life is symbolized by water and the subject is therefore appropriate for sepulchral paintings in Christian art in which there is no reference whatever to death. The same is true of the sustenance of bread in the Eucharistic multiplication miracle, and no surprise may be felt at the popularity of the Eucharist throughout the cycle.

The writer has no disposition to enlarge upon the interpretation of early Christian symbolism, since the field is free to all, save to affirm the suggestion that the famous catalogue of men of faith in the Letter to the Hebrews may have served as a source, or at least a suggestion, for catacomb themes inasmuch as faith is certainly appropriate in sepulchral art. Brevity in composition is a feature of the entire series: Noah, Job, Daniel, Moses, the Three Youths in the Furnace, the Paralytic, the Raising of Lazarus, the Epiphany, etc. The Good Shepherd was the most popular of all and with his flock did indeed require some pastoral setting. Jonah maintained in early examples the convention of continuous narrative with the engaging freedom of cheerful fancy. As a cycle the episodes are characterized by brisk energy and good cheer—strangely enough when we consider that they adorned tombs—however unpretentious the sketches may be.

It was then by the accident of place and unfavorable circumstance that the attack on the current illusionism took place. The symbolic effectiveness of the sketchy technique was promptly appreci-

3. The initial purpose of the catacomb paintings was to decorate the walls, like any other wall surfaces, in houses or elsewhere. The system was derived from the styles identified at Pompeii and elsewhere and continued through the entire cycle, as long as the catacombs were used for sepulchral purposes. The wall or ceiling was laid out in panels and within these spaces are flowers, garlands, rinceaux of vines and other foliage, vases, birds and animals, human heads and decorative human figures, orants, airy puttos, etc., the execution of which in all periods

is markedly superior to the episode pictures. It is with the last, however, that we are concerned, for in them is found the break with illusionism in scenes very different from the mythological pictures of house decoration. The usage is traced in detail by O. Wulff in *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, Berlin-Neubabelsberg, 1914, I, pp. 50-60.

4. Included on plate 41 in Wilpert's *Malereien*.

5. *Mal.*, pls. 19 and 29, in Praetextatus and Callixtus, both of second century.

ated, since it invites attention to meaning, and as it was discovered that there are no limits to the spiritual atmosphere suggested by the apparent opposition between sketch and episode. This is the very essence of abstract art inasmuch as the paintings are symbols of abstract concepts, and this may be affirmed of the entire cycle.

There has been a tendency in informed writing to acknowledge the part that Christianity played in the attack on illusionism with its introduction of new content in thinking and new idealizations and objectives. With such studies the present writer is in agreement. My only emendment is that before the resolutions of Christian thought made their impact on illusionism the attack had already been made in technique in which the isolation of the figure from environment came about by accident. Then when the results had been observed and appraised we have the new symbolic style of the first four centuries of Christian art, parallel with the unfolding of Latin style but with different purposes, in fact with a persistent purpose which gives unity to the cycle.

This modification of illusionism did not come all at once. It became standard only when the possibilities were observed, as with the introduction of any style, and at all times the brushwork was impressionistic. At first there may have been some attempts to follow the pictorial style, as in the example of Daniel and the Lions in the Greek Chapel in the catacomb of Priscilla, where the palace of Darius is included as background.⁶ The axial decorative scheme of Daniel and two lions without setting had been devised in the Flavian section of the catacomb of Domitilla even earlier and became regular for subsequent usage.⁷ In the third and fourth centuries there was an unfortunate return in some examples to crystalline attempts at description, connecting with Wirth's period of illusionism (220-260 and later) and anticipating the didactic style of mosaics and miniatures as the codex was introduced.

Catacomb painters are supposed by some to have derived their themes and compositions from hypothetical Alexandrian codices, and promptly to have corrupted them—until the miniature style arose. The suggestion is that they could not have originated Scriptural narrative compositions but had to adapt them from Hellenistic-Hebrew sources.⁸ In support of this theory, episodes from the Old Testament are alleged to antedate those from the New in catacomb painting, since the latter had to be originally created, and from Roman rather than Alexandrian models and hence are very awkward. The facts are otherwise, for themes from the Gospels are contemporary with those from the Old Testament and there is no difference in execution.

Our beloved mentor asserts that the catacomb cycle had no influence on subsequent styles.⁹ Perhaps, for the catacombs were abandoned in the fifth century save as shrines for pilgrims, though the pictures were there for all to see. Times changed and new interests developed. The emphasis was on eschatology with its themes of Last Judgment and Apocalyptic vision. Then, too, art served the Church didactically for the instruction of the unlettered masses, and new purposes in art appeared accompanied by new accomplishments in technique. But abstraction had been achieved and at the very beginning of Christian art, albeit by very humble means. The themes had the essence of monumentality, recovered after the Hellenistic dissipation, and in its ignoring of space and time the catacomb style maintained a tradition which was Greek and may be at least one of the factors which helped to constitute Proto-Byzantine style.

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6. Published by J. Wilpert in *Fractio Panis*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1895, Pl. IX, and dated by him in the time of Trajan or Hadrian (p. 32).

7. *Mal.*, pl. 5, dated by Wirth ca. 230, *op.cit.*, p. 188.

8. Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, Princeton, 1947, says (p. 76), "We do not know the date of the beginning of Old Testament illustration," or whether it started on papyrus roll or codex. Weitzmann further explains (p. 53) the break in Alexandria with the current illusionism in Hellen-

istic book illustration, at the very time that illusionism reigned in fresco, as a result of the medium, since papyrus is less suitable for an elaborate picturesque style. Hellenistic book illustration gave no backgrounds or landscape at the very time that they were highly developed in frescoes. He calls it the "papyrus style."

9. C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1942, p. 102. He says that the frescoes of the catacombs did not "make school."

JUSTINIAN AS A BUILDER

GLANVILLE DOWNEY

JUSTINIAN's work as a builder is, happily, known to us in greater detail than the building activity of any other ancient ruler. His greatest achievement, St. Sophia, still stands; his second greatest church, the Holy Apostles, is well known from literary sources; and many other important monuments are preserved. In the *De aedificiis* of Procopius we possess the most detailed single record to come down to us of any ancient monarch's buildings; and from other literary and epigraphic sources we are able to gather much valuable information. A complete survey and study of all this material would exceed the limits appropriate to the present occasion. It will be useful, however, to discuss certain points of interest which either seem to have escaped the attention of scholars in general, or have remained somewhat inaccessible.

It is significant, for our estimate of Justinian's interest in buildings, that there is a very distinct possibility that the plans for St. Sophia were studied—possibly even prepared and waiting—for some time before the building of the church was begun. This important consideration, which has been pointed out by E. H. Swift,¹ does not seem to have been generally taken into account by scholars, though the evidence which suggests it is plain. The site on which St. Sophia was constructed was cleared by the fire which occurred on January 13, 532, during the Nika Insurrection. The disorders came to an end on January 18, and the construction of the new church was begun on February 23.² It is conceivable, of course, that the design for the church, or alternatively, tentative plans sufficient merely to allow work to be begun on the foundations, can have been prepared during the brief interval between the clearing of the site and the beginning of the work. However, the shortness of the time which elapsed between the clearing of the site and the commencement of the construction might well be taken to show that the project of building such a church was in Justinian's mind for some time before 532, and that the design had been laid out, and plans drawn, before that year.³ The accidental clearing of the site gave the opportunity, and the confiscation of the property of the senators which followed the riot (both as a punitive measure and as a precaution against another insurrection) provided the financial means.⁴ Without these two totally unexpected aids, the construction of the church might have had to be postponed for some time; but it is significant that Justinian was ready to begin work almost instantly when the opportunity came.

The source of the financial means with which St. Sophia was built illustrates a larger question, which is of fundamental importance for our estimate of Justinian as a builder. It is plain that the sums spent on all of his buildings during his long reign must have been substantial (on this point, more below). If any large portion of this money was taken from revenue that ought to have been used for other purposes, we should have to conclude that the emperor's building program was an unwise drain on the resources of the state. That some of Justinian's enemies felt this to be the case is indicated by remarks made by Procopius in the *Anecdota*, some of which suggest also that the emperor persecuted individuals, and confiscated their property, in order to obtain money for his

1. E. H. Swift, *Hagia Sophia*, New York, 1940, p. 12.

2. On the insurrection, see E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, Paris, 1949, pp. 449-458; cf. also J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2nd ed., London, 1923, II, pp. 39-49.

3. Our view of this problem is affected by the question of the number and nature of the drawings and models necessary for the construction of such a building. In particular, it would be interesting to know whether detailed drawings of all parts of such a building would have to be prepared. The evidence at present available unfortunately does not permit any definitive answers. For some of the literary evidence for the use of draw-

ings and models, see my paper, "Byzantine Architects, Their Training and Methods," *Byzantion*, XVIII, 1946-48, pp. 114-117. In speaking of the construction of St. Sophia, Procopius writes (*De aed.*, I, 1, 24) that Anthemius, while the work was going on, "prepared in advance *indalmata* [which could mean either plans or models] of the future construction."

4. On the confiscations and their importance in making the construction of the church possible, see Stein, *op.cit.*, II, p. 456, and Bury, *op.cit.*, II, p. 53 n. 1. The confiscations are described by Procopius, *Anecdota*, XII, 12.

buildings.⁵ In the case of St. Sophia, however, the emperor, as we have seen, made use of a windfall, and it is illuminating to find indications that this was also true at least in the case of his second great church, the Holy Apostles. The construction of this church was begun in 536, before the completion of St. Sophia, which was dedicated on December 27, 537.⁶ If the building of the Holy Apostles were paid for out of current revenue, it would seem extravagant to undertake a second project of this magnitude before the first was completed. However, there is reason to believe that the Holy Apostles, like St. Sophia, was partly or wholly financed by a windfall. Late in 534 Belisarius had returned from his successful African campaign bringing with him a fabulous treasure, and was rewarded with a triumph.⁷ This notable addition to the wealth of the state may well have provided the means for the construction of the great new church; and the interval of either one year, or possibly nearly two, which would have elapsed between Belisarius' return to Constantinople and the commencement of the building operations might well represent the time needed for the planning of the building. In at least one instance, treasure captured from an enemy was used to pay for new fortifications. Justinian's general, Solomon, employed the money he took from Iaudas in Africa in 536 to fortify the cities of Libya.⁸

What sums Justinian actually spent on buildings like St. Sophia and the Church of the Holy Apostles we do not know. However, the magnificence of St. Sophia gave rise in antiquity to exaggerated reports of its cost which are sometimes reflected in the writings of modern scholars. The late and unreliable *Narratio de S. Sophia* states that the cost of the church, exclusive of the holy vessels and offerings, was 320,000 pounds of gold (23,040,000 solidi), which Bury in 1923 reckoned had a purchasing power of £14,500,000.⁹ This figure, however, has not won acceptance, since, by a curious "coincidence," it corresponds exactly with the surplus which the Emperor Anastasius (491-518), the predecessor of Justinus I and Justinian, left in the treasury at his death.¹⁰ Apparently the figure of 320,000 pounds of gold was attached to the story of the building of St. Sophia in an effort to suggest that Justinian spent on this church all of the money found in the treasury when his uncle Justinus ascended the throne. Bury (writing in terms of 1923) remarks, "I should be surprised if the total expenses amounted to a million sterling."¹¹ More recently, E. Stein concluded that the cost of St. Sophia probably came to something like 1,440,000 or 1,800,000 solidi,¹² which according to the accepted reckoning of the purchasing power of the solidus as the equivalent of £2 in terms of 1900, would put the cost of St. Sophia at about £2,880,000 or £3,600,000.¹³ Two comparisons may be noted. First, the cost of the construction and decoration of St. Vitale at Ravenna was 26,000 solidi,¹⁴ which, reckoning the solidus as worth £2 in terms of 1900, would put the cost of St. Vitale at £72,000 (in terms of 1900).¹⁵ Second, the annual money budget of the state (as distinguished from expenditures and revenue paid in kind) during the reign of Anastasius had been about 7,000,000 solidi.¹⁶

There may be a question whether Justinian's building activity was merely an exuberant and

5. Cf. *Anecdota*, VIII, 7-8; XI, 3; XIX, 6; XXVI, 23-24.

6. *Narratio de S. Sophia*, 32, in *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Th. Preger, Leipzig, 1901-07, p. 287, 7-8; Zonaras, XIV, 7, 6-7, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, Bonn, 1897, III, pp. 159, 14-160, 2.

7. Procopius, *Wars*, IV, 9; cf. Bury, *op.cit.*, II, p. 139, and Stein, *op.cit.*, II, p. 320.

8. Procopius, *Wars*, IV, 20, 29; cf. Stein, *op.cit.*, II, p. 328.

9. *Narratio*, 25, p. 102, 6, ed. Preger (cited above, n. 6); see Bury, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 36, 53 n. 1.

10. Procopius, *Anecdota*, XIX, 7.

11. *Op.cit.*, II, p. 53 n. 1.

12. *Op.cit.*, II, pp. 459-460.

13. On the purchasing power of the solidus, see Bury, *op.cit.*, I, p. 50 n. 4. The conversion of Stein's estimate to terms of sterling in 1900 has been made by the present writer since Stein refrains from indicating his belief as to the purchasing power

of the solidus in terms of modern currency.

14. The figure, given by Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 59, p. 319, 1, ed. O. Holder-Egger in *MGH, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*, Hanover, 1878, may be considered reliable.

15. Stein, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 459-460; Bury, *op.cit.*, I, p. 50, with n. 4. E. H. Swift, *loc.cit.* (above, n. 1) takes the figure 320,000, as given for the cost of St. Sophia, to mean pounds sterling instead of Byzantine gold pounds. Thinking Gibbon's estimate of £1,000,000 (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, London, 1901, IV, p. 248) too low, Swift suggests that the cost of the church was £13,000,000, which he reckons as worth \$75,000,000 in the "depreciated currency" of 1940. Swift was evidently not acquainted with Bury's calculations, and Stein's figures were of course not yet available to him.

16. Stein, *op.cit.*, II, p. 195.

uncontrolled expression of the keen interest in building which the emperor and Theodora undoubtedly possessed, or whether there may have lain behind the work some overall plan or guiding principle. In an empire of the magnitude of Justinian's it would (with the evidence now available) be difficult to look for traces of what today would be called a master plan, and the number of buildings enumerated by Procopius in the *De aedificiis* seems at first sight to be so overwhelming that one might be inclined to suppose that buildings—predominantly churches and fortifications—were merely erected at random or (at best) as needed. It will be of some interest to inquire into the significance, in this respect, of the emperor's buildings in his capital.

Procopius' account of Justinian's buildings at Constantinople, which occupies the first book of the *De aedificiis*, suggests indeed that these structures were not simply erected at random but that they represent a considered effort to construct in the capital a balanced and representative group of churches and public buildings. Whether one can speak here of a carefully planned program, completely thought out before any of the work was begun, or whether merely some attention was paid to the general character of buildings erected from time to time, is a question which it may not be possible to answer. The really significant point is that it is plain that some thought was given to the matter.

According to Procopius' account, Justinian's buildings at Constantinople can be listed as follows (references are to the *De aed.*):¹⁷

A. CHURCHES

- (1) Principal churches: St. Sophia (I, I, 20-78), St. Eirene (I, 2, 13).
- (2) Churches of the Virgin (I, 3, 1-11).
- (3) Church of the Archangel Michael (I, 3, 14-18).
- (4) Churches of the Apostles and of St. Sergius and St. Bacchus (I, 4, 1-24).
- (5) Churches of martyrs (I, 4, 25-30). These are primarily dedications to martyrs who were especially revered in, or had close associations with, Byzantium: St. Acacius,¹⁸ St. Plato,¹⁹ St. Mocius,²⁰ St. Thyrsus,²¹ St. Theodore, St. Thecla, St. Theodota,²² St. Agathonicus.²³
- (6) Churches on the shores about the city and in the suburbs (I, 5, 1 to I, 9, 16). These are of various dedications: the Virgin, St. Priscus and St. Nicholas, St. Cosmas and St. Damian, St. Anthimus, St. Eirene, the Archangel Michael, St. John the Baptist, St. Panteleemon, St. Tryphon, St. Menas and St. Menaeus, St. Ia.

B. OTHER BUILDINGS

- (1) Statue of Justinian in the Augustaeum (I, 2, 1-12).²⁴
- (2) Hospice for indigent sick people (I, 2, 14-16).
- (3) Two more hospices (I, 2, 17).
- (4) Palace of Hormisdas, rebuilt by Justinian for his own use during the reign of Justinus (I, 4, 1-3 and I, 10, 4).²⁵

17. The arrangement of the material in the first book of the *De aedificiis* will be studied in greater detail under the aspect of literary technique in an article, "Notes on Procopius, *De aedificiis*, Book I," which will soon be published in another place. In that paper an attempt is made to show that Book I does not merely represent the opening and principal part of the whole treatise on Justinian's buildings, but was written as a literary show-piece or panegyric to be presented orally before the emperor and the court.

18. A centurion from Cappadocia, martyred at Byzantium in 303: *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, 2nd ed., Brussels, 1909 (cited below as *BHG*), p. 3. On the martyrs who were especially venerated at Constantinople, see H. Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, 2nd ed., Brussels, 1933, pp. 232-241.

19. Martyred at Ancyra under Diocletian: *BHG*, p. 216-217.

20. With Acacius, one of the first martyrs of Byzantium, under Diocletian: *BHG*, p. 180.

21. A martyr of Nicomedia: *BHG*, p. 260.

22. Either the Theodota who was martyred with St. Socrates at Nicaea ca. 230 or the martyr of the same name who suffered under Diocletian, likewise at Nicaea: *BHG*, p. 252.

23. Martyred in Thrace under Diocletian: *BHG*, p. 7.

24. See G. Downey, "Justinian as Achilles," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXI, 1940, pp. 68-77, and M. P. Charlesworth, "Pietas and Victoria: The Emperor and the Citizen," *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXXIII, 1943, pp. 1-10.

25. On the text of this passage, see G. Downey, "Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I, 4, 3," *Classical Philology*, XLIII, 1948, pp. 44-45, with further remarks by A. Frolov in *Byzantinoslavica*, X, 1948, pp. 131-132.

- (5) Reformatory for fallen women (I, 9, 1-10).
- (6) Refuge for indigent sick people (I, 9, 12-14).
- (7) Propylaea of the Palace (I, 10, 3).
- (8) The Bronze Gate (*Chalkê*) (*ibid.*).
- (9) Baths of Zeuxippus (*ibid.*).
- (10) "The great colonnaded stoas" (near the baths) (*ibid.*).
- (11) Senate-house on the Augustaeum (I, 10, 5-9).
- (12) Enlargement of the Great Palace (I, 10, 10-20).
- (13) Park or garden (*aulê*) containing statue of Theodora on the shore near the baths of Arcadianae (I, 11, 1-9).
- (14) Storage cistern at the Imperial Portico (I, 11, 10-15).
- (15) Palaces at Heraeum and Jucundianae (I, 11, 16-17).
- (16) Sheltered harbor at the Hebdomon (I, 11, 18-20).
- (17) Churches and public buildings (stoas, markets, baths) at the Hebdomon (I, 11, 21).²⁶
- (18) Harbor on the opposite mainland (I, 11, 22).
- (19) Public guest-house (I, 11, 23-27).

From this enumeration it is plain that at least in the case of Constantinople and its suburbs the buildings erected under Justinian represented a balanced group of structures of all types. In the churches, all members of the celestial hierarchy are represented. As we should expect of sovereigns as pious as Justinian and Theodora, the number of churches is impressive; but in those times the observance of religious duties played a greater part in the daily lives of the people as a whole than in some countries today, and if allowance is made for this difference, the number of Justinian's churches may not seem disproportionate.

A further factor which must be kept in mind in our estimate of Justinian as a builder is that Procopius' account of the emperor's buildings, rich in information as it is, does not give us a complete picture of Justinian's accomplishments. Procopius does not record some buildings which are known to us from archaeological or literary evidence. Some of these may have escaped his notice or may not have been listed in the sources he used, while others may have been built after the *De aedificiis* was completed, or after Procopius had ceased to work on the treatise.²⁷ In important instances we learn from other sources details which show that some building activities of Justinian were more valuable, from the utilitarian point of view, than Procopius' account suggests. In the *De aedificiis* (v, 6, 25) Procopius records simply that Justinian erected a hospital at Jerusalem. From the *Vita Sabae* of Cyril of Scythopolis, however, we learn that this was a hospital of two hundred beds, intended for the accommodation of pilgrims to the holy city who became ill, and that it was endowed with an annual revenue of 3,700 solidi, the equivalent in purchasing power of £7,400 in 1900.²⁸ This surely was a public health measure of the first importance, the significance of which was passed over by Procopius in favor of an elaborate description of the new Church of the Virgin which Justinian built in Jerusalem (*De aed.*, v, 6, 1-25). Again, Malalas informs us (p. 445, 8-9 Bonn ed.) that Justinian rebuilt the aqueduct of Alexandria, which Procopius does not mention.

We may now return to the question of how far the emperor's buildings (including those erected in the reign of Justinus I, when Justinian played an important part in shaping the policy of the state) merely represented the indulgence of a passion for building. Scholars, on reading only Procopius' accounts of the emperor's work in the *Anecdota* and the *De aedificiis*, might naturally be

26. On the work of Justinian at the Hebdomon, see R. Demangel, *Contribution à la topographie de l'Hebdomon*, Paris, 1945.

27. Omissions in Procopius' account are noted, for example, by J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, Paris, 1941, p. 65 n. 182, and by R. Mouterde and A. Poidebard, *Le limes de Chalcis*, Paris, 1945, p. 6. On the writing of the *De aedificiis*, and the dates when Procopius was at work on it, see G. Downey, "The Composition of Procopius, *De aedificiis*," *Transactions of the American*

Philological Association, LXXVIII, 1947, pp. 171-183. See also J. Sauvaget in *Byzantion*, XIV, 1939, p. 122.

28. Cyril, *Vita Sabae*, 73, p. 177, ed. E. Schwartz in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, XLIX, 2 (1939). Cyril writes that the hospital, as planned by Justinian, originally contained one hundred beds and had an annual revenue of 1,850 solidi, but that the emperor subsequently doubled the size and the income of the establishment.

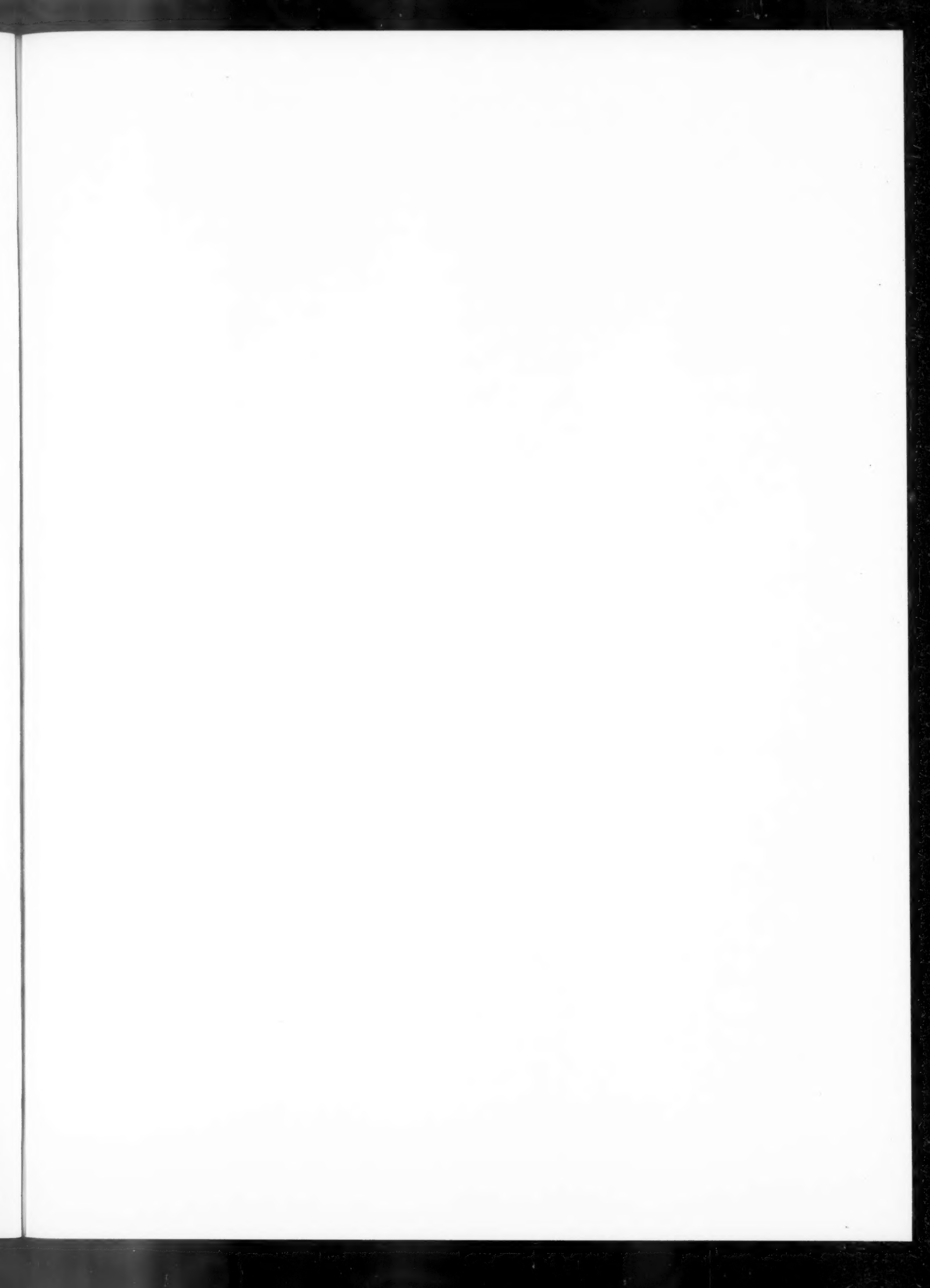
inclined to feel that while a substantial portion of Justinian's undertakings were undoubtedly of a utilitarian character, the very number of his enterprises would suggest that the emperor at least on some occasions built simply in order to gratify his own and Theodora's desires. There is, however, one factor to be kept in mind here. Anastasius, the predecessor of Justinus I and Justinian, had found the state menaced by bankruptcy. By means of a brilliant series of reforms Anastasius contrived to place the state finances on a sound footing, so that at his death (as has already been remarked) the treasury contained 23,040,000 solidi, a sum more than three times as great as the government's annual money budget (as distinguished from revenue and expenditure paid in kind), which normally was about 7,000,000 solidi.²⁹ The building up of a surplus of this size must have been achieved not only by administrative and financial reform but by the practice of fairly strict economy; Justinus I writes of the *parca subtilitas*, the "ingenious parsimony," of his predecessor.³⁰ It seems not unlikely that at least some of this *parca subtilitas* may have taken the form of a systematic prudence—perhaps more than prudence—in the upkeep, repair and replacement of public buildings. Thus it may well have been that when Justinus and Justinian took over the affairs of the state they found that a more than normal amount of work needed to be done in this department.³¹ In this case we should have to conclude that Justinian is not wholly deserving of censure for extravagance as a builder.

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29. On the financial administration of Anastasius, see Stein, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 192-215.

30. *Cod. Just.*, II, 7, 25, pr.

31. The evidence for the public building activities of the reign of Justinus I (for some of which Justinian was responsible) is collected by A. A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First*, Cambridge, 1950, pp. 376-382.





1. London, British Museum. Obverse of gold medallion of Justinian I (from an electrotype of the original)



2. Rome, Vatican Library. Detail of the Joshua Roll, *Joshua Staying the Sun and Moon* (after Vatican facsimile, Sheet XIII)



3 and 4. New York, Metropolitan Museum. Silver plates found in Cyprus: (left) *David Anointed by Samuel*; (right) *Saul Arming David with His Armor*

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ICONOGRAPHY OF JOSHUA*

ANDREW S. KECK

Two manuscripts hold a place of vital importance in all theories of the evolution of Byzantine art: the Joshua Roll or Rotulus in the Vatican Library, cod. Palat. gr. 431,¹ and the Paris Psalter in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, cod. gr. 139. Closely related in style, these two controversial manuscripts present much the same problem in so far as the relationship between illustrations and text is concerned.² In each case, authorities have accepted without question a tenth century date for the text, but have disagreed on the time of production of the miniatures which have been dated as early as the fifth and as late as the tenth century. On a solution of the problem of the date of the miniatures of Rotulus and Psalter, rests, in good part, our understanding of the evolution of Byzantine art in general, and our conception of the Early and Middle Byzantine periods in particular. In this article, only the Joshua Roll will be treated, not for questions of artistic style and quality, but for one limited aspect of the iconography of its miniature cycle in order to throw some light on its date. An attempt will be made to discover the most likely place of the Rotulus in the development of Byzantine painting through observations of the iconography of Joshua in dated works of Early Christian and Byzantine art depicting Joshua scenes. The observations will be made against the background of the conflicting views held of the Rotulus by C. R. Morey and K. Weitzmann, the leading exponents of a dating in the Early and Middle Byzantine periods respectively.

The views of Morey on the Vatican Rotulus, its immediate model and its ultimate archetype, are stated with remarkable consistency in a series of articles and books³ all dealing with the evolution of Byzantine art, and with the place of the Rotulus in that evolution. For him, the drawings doubtless are the descendants of a series of copies, but the date of the ultimate archetype cannot be later than the second century A.D. Whereas the Vatican editors were inclined to assign the ultimate archetype to a period not before the fourth century, Morey would regard this assumed work as a copy intermediate between the second century archetype and the Rotulus. He agrees with the editors that the seventh-eighth century is the most likely epoch in which to place the production of the Rotulus wash drawings, and introduces excellent evidence for a *terminus a quo* through the vertical disposition of the inscription labels, "since we have no examples of this practice, so far as I know, which antedate the seventh century."⁴ Morey advances a more specific date, *ca.* A.D. 700, for the drawings on the basis of their similarities in style to the Cyprus silver plates of the early seventh century, and to the frescoes of S. M. Antiqua in Rome of the late seventh or early eighth centuries. With these works he groups the better miniatures of the Paris Psalter, holding that all were produced by artists who fled from Alexandria at the time of the Arab conquest. The miniatures of the Rotulus and Psalter were done in Constantinople, to which city "the archetype of the Roll and that of the Psalter

*I should here like to express my appreciation to the Directors of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (Harvard University) for allowing me to use the library and its full copy of the Princeton Index of Christian Art, that unique contribution of Charles Rufus Morey to the field of mediaeval studies. I also wish to thank Professor Ernst Kitzinger of Harvard University, who kindly read an incomplete draft of this article.

1. *Il rotulo di Giosuè* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, v) (facsimile), Milan, 1905; K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll. A*

Work of the Macedonian Renaissance, Princeton, 1948.

2. The problem of the relationship of pictures and text in the Rotulus is treated in the latter part of this article.

3. C. R. Morey, "The Sources of Mediaeval Style," *ART BULLETIN*, VII, 1924, pp. 35-50; *idem*, "Notes on East Christian Miniatures," *ART BULLETIN*, XI, 1929, pp. 5-103 (complete issue); *idem*, "The 'Byzantine Renaissance,'" *Speculum*, XIV, 1939, pp. 139-159; *idem*, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1942; *idem*, *Mediaeval Art*, New York, 1942.

4. Morey, *ART BULLETIN*, XI, p. 48.

may well have brought in the seventh century by reason of the same exodus of artists and works of art."⁵ Morey is ready to believe that the imported style was passed on by the process of copying into the mid-Byzantine style of the ninth-eleventh centuries, but does not grant that the Rotulus and Psalter were such copies. He claims the two manuscripts are too completely antique in feeling to have been understood by any tenth century copyist. Consequently, they may not be used to support the concept of a "Byzantine renaissance." Morey admits the existence in the tenth century of a taste for recreations of antiquity, but believes that the original genius that imagined the types of Psalter and Rotulus were lost with the extinction of the "Alexandrian" schools. In his view, the "renaissance" is little more than the stylistic imitation of "Alexandrian" works whose presence in the libraries of Constantinople explains the frequent copying of them in the ninth-eleventh centuries, and the native Neo-Attic tradition of Constantinople explains the altered character of the copies.⁶ Opposed to Morey, in practically all matters pertaining to Rotulus and Psalter, is K. Weitzmann, who has become the champion of a tenth century date for the miniatures, and, largely through them, of a "Byzantine renaissance."

Weitzmann summarizes his opinion of the Rotulus in the preface of his recent book: "The Vatican Roll is not a copy of an earlier one, but was made up as a Roll in the tenth century from a picture cycle of an earlier codex, from which the separate pictures were copied and lined up side by side, thus forming a continuous frieze. . . . When this transformation took place, the Roll painter inserted a considerable number of classical elements, landscape features as well as personifications, in order to connect the originally isolated scenes. For these insertion motifs, as we have called them, the illustrator used classical miniatures of mythological or bucolic manuscripts as models."⁷ The tenth century date for the picture frieze rests, according to Weitzmann,⁸ primarily on its stylistic affinity to other miniatures of the same period, particularly those of the Regina Bible in the Vatican, cod. Reg. gr. 1, since the Paris Psalter is purposely excluded from consideration, and on the late character of the uncial inscriptions.⁹ Brief mention is made of the Cyprus silver vessels and the S. M. Antiqua frescoes of the Early Byzantine period, but only to point out stylistic differences. As for the immediate model of the Rotulus, the "earlier codex with a picture cycle," this, too, is dated in the tenth century, if only by implication. Weitzmann writes: "there is no need to assume that the painters of the Joshua Roll and the Paris Psalter, at least as far as the nucleus of the Biblical compositions is concerned, used much earlier models";¹⁰ and again: "the Renaissance model from which the Paris Psalter copy descends, must have been about a generation earlier"¹¹ than the copy. It would follow that Weitzmann believes all four manuscripts—the Paris Psalter and its model, the Joshua Roll and its codex model—to be products of the tenth century, and hence, representative works of a Byzantine renaissance. Intermediary copies are assumed¹² between an archetype and the eleventh century Octateuch, Vat. gr. 747, if not for the Rotulus codex model. In his opinion, the Rotulus is "the key monument of the Macedonian renaissance" whose guiding spirit was Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, who died in the year 959.¹³

The above summaries, in which a sincere attempt has been made to do justice to the viewpoints of Morey and Weitzmann, show a clear gap between them. For Morey, "Byzantine art, of all the mediaeval arts, exhibits the most unruffled and conservative of evolutions,"¹⁴ whose even tenor was not suddenly interrupted by a conscious revival of antique style, as Weitzmann proposes. In the course of this article, a compromise solution will be considered in the matter of dating, but on the more fundamental issue of the pattern of evolution of Byzantine painting, there can be no compro-

5. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 102, and *idem*, *Speculum*, XIV, p. 159.

7. Weitzmann, *op.cit.*, p. v.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

9. Weitzmann's dating of the uncial inscriptions will be discussed in the latter part of this article.

10. Weitzmann, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

14. Morey, *Speculum*, XIV, p. 156.

mise because of a "renaissance." For it can be demonstrated that iconographical motifs and types survived from late antique times into the Early Byzantine period and beyond.¹⁵ Consequently, whatever return there was in the tenth century to classical motifs is not to be considered as a "renaissance" of such motifs, but rather as a renewed use of them after a lapse during the Iconoclastic Controversy (726-843). The issue at stake is so vital to an understanding of the evolution of Byzantine painting that a word may be said on the subject here in advance of the main study of this article.

Among the classical elements employed, according to Weitzmann's theory, as insertion motifs in the tenth century are female city personifications wearing mural crowns which "fit badly."¹⁶ These are regarded not as survivors of ancient city personifications, but as original adaptations by the Rotulus painter of ancient mythological types. A quite remarkable set of antique prototypes are produced to demonstrate this point. Weitzmann allows, nevertheless, that the "Rotulus copyist must have seen somewhere an ancient city personification, too, for he is familiar with the required attributes of cornucopia and mural crown."¹⁷ But he does not canvass the possibility that the Hellenistic female Tyche persisted in art, as does Morey who points to its survival in the fourth or fifth century on the silver statuettes now in the British Museum, where the Tyche of Constantinople wears a crested helmet and holds patera and cornucopia.¹⁸ It is instructive to find that the type persisted into the Early Byzantine period on solidi minted at Constantinople under the Emperor Justin II (565-578).¹⁹ The personification of Constantinople on these coins wears a helmet rather than a mural crown, but Roman medallions of the period from Diocletian to Justinian show the Tyche of Constantinople wearing either a helmet or a turret, with the latter attribute looking much like a badly fitting mural crown.²⁰ In the case of this one "insertion motif," the artist of the Rotulus might very well have been using a classical element that had survived through the centuries, rather than creating an approximation of the same under the impetus of a revival movement. The foregoing data carries the continued use of one classical motif up to the epoch selected by the Vatican editors for the production of the Rotulus drawings. Since this is the period defended also by Morey, the Rotulus will be given an early place in the following descriptive list of works of art featuring Joshua scenes.

The series of mosaic panels on the nave wall of S. M. Maggiore in Rome, dated between the years 432 and 440, holds the earliest known representations of scenes from the Book of Joshua. Morey has noted that in the first section "precisely the same sequence [of scenes] occurs [as] in the Rotulus with the same repetition of Ark-porters—evidence enough of ultimate derivation from a common original."²¹ Weitzmann completely ignored these wall mosaics in his investigations of the extent of the Rotulus in its original state, even though the existing scenes of both Rotulus and mosaic series terminate with the Judgment and Execution of the Five Kings of the Amorites. The mosaics have been extensively restored; nevertheless, it is permissible to extract certain useful data from those panels reported on in a positive way.²² In the Crossing of the Jordan register, Joshua

15. Weitzmann, *op.cit.*, p. 82, notes that the type of river and sea personification had never wholly disappeared in late classical and early Byzantine art.

16. Weitzmann, *op.cit.*, p. 66.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

18. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, p. 8; and O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East . . . of the British Museum*, London, 1901, pl. XX, figs. 332-335.

19. W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1908, I, p. 75, pl. XI, 1; and W. Dennison, *A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period*, New York, 1918, p. 137, pls. XX, XXI.

20. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Numismatic Studies No. 5, Roman Medallions*, New York, 1944, p. 188, pl. XXXVII, 9, 10.

21. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, pp. 146, 148-152.

22. J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der*

kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert, Freiburg i/B, 1917, I (first half) text, III (mosaics) plates. Pertinent sections of Wilpert's report on the condition of the mosaics referred to in this article follow:

Pl. 23 with Joshua crossing Jordan and sending men to Rahab: "Die Ränder abgerechnet, ist der Zustand bei beiden Szenen gut" (p. 464).

Pl. 27 with Joshua mounted in battle in upper register: "Das Bild ist, wie gesagt, eins der besten" (p. 467).

Pl. 28¹ with Joshua staying the Sun and Moon: "die Gestalt des Josue ist ebenfalls ganz überarbeitet: der Feldherr gleicht einem maskierten Knaben, der sich einen aus Goldpapier verfertigten Hut aufgesetzt hat" (p. 422).

Pl. 28² with execution of the Five Kings: "Josue selbst ist eine jämmerliche Erscheinung mit geschwollenen Beinen, einem unmöglichen Gestus der rechten Hand und einer Art Bersaglierehut auf dem Kopfe" (p. 422).

wears a military costume of under-tunic, cuirass, and paludamentum, carries a lance, and has a diadem encircling his bare head. Here, as always throughout the series, Joshua is not nimbed. Joshua's costume and attributes are the same when, mounted on a horse, he is actively engaged in battle with the Amorites. Judging by this, the mosaicist was not concerned to modify Joshua's iconography in accordance with the nature of his activities. It may be noted that the only marked change in his headdress comes in the last two remaining panels where, in the Staying of the Sun and Moon and in the Judgment of the Five Kings, he wears a helmet and a brimmed hat respectively, but these are clearly not original pieces of iconography.

The first dated work of art in which Joshua is given a headdress other than the diadem of the mosaics in Rome is the Syrian gospelbook in the Laurentiana in Florence, written by the monk Rabula in the year 586/7.²³ Here, in a marginal illustration of the Staying of the Sun and Moon, Joshua, in military costume and carrying a lance, wears a pointed soldier's casque. But he is not nimbed, as are both Gabriel and Mary of an Annunciation scene on the same folio recto, and as is David on folio 4 verso of this provincial work.

The outstanding single item of iconography of the Joshua of the Rotulus is the nimbus worn by the leader of the Israelites in all his appearances throughout the Roll in its present extent. It is this use of the nimbus *passim*²⁴ in the Rotulus that most differentiates its iconography of Joshua from that of the S. M. Maggiore mosaics. It may be thought that the mosaics belong to a period when the nimbus was still used in antique fashion as a mark of worldly distinction, and was just acquiring its Christian significance of sanctity, as witnessed by the nimbus on the Archangel Michael appearing before Joshua. The Rotulus or its model on the other hand, according to this line of thought, would be the product of an epoch in which the nimbus had acquired a definite and particular symbolic meaning. By observing the care with which Joshua's several types of headdress are chosen in his many appearances on the Rotulus, one is led to judge that this same epoch was punctilious in general matters of symbolism. In order to demonstrate this point, the following table is entered, listing the scenes wherein he is bareheaded, wherein he wears a soldier's casque, and wherein he wears a crested helmet. The sheet numbers are those of the Vatican facsimile; the same numbers are found also in the titles for the figure illustrations in Weitzmann's monograph, *The Joshua Roll*.

A. Joshua is bareheaded a total of fourteen times:

SHEET		(7) VIII: being told by God to attack Ai
(1)	I: leading the Israelites toward the Jordan	(8) VIII: judging Achan
(2)	III: leading the Israelites away from the Jordan	(9) X: being assured of victory over Ai
(3)	III: piling up the stones at Gilgal	(10) XI: receiving the captured king of Ai
(4)	III: renewing the circumcision	(11) XI: worshipping before altar on Mount Ebal
(5)	VI: sending men to view Ai	(12) XII: receiving ambassadors of Gibeon
(6)	VII: receiving report of men returned from Ai	(13) XII: hearing the Gibeonites beg alliance
		(14) XIII: hearing report about the cave of Makkedah

B. Joshua wears a soldier's casque six times:

(1)	IV: Conversing with the Archangel Michael	(3) V: directing the conquest of Jericho
(2)	IV: prostrating himself before the Archangel	(4) X: leading his soldiers against Ai
		(5) X: setting the ambush at Ai
		(6) X: viewing the killing of inhabitants of Ai

23. R. Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, Prato, 1876, III, pl. 130, 1.

24. *Il rotulo di Giosuè* (text), p. 21 n. 1. Here the Vatican editors, speaking of the figure of Joshua on Sheet I, write: "Egli è sempre nimbato anche in seguito."

C. Joshua wears a crested helmet two times:

(1) XIII: staying the Sun and the Moon

(2) XIV: viewing humiliation of the Five Kings

Brief attention may also be called to the military attributes of Joshua: he wears a military costume of under-tunic, cuirass, and paludamentum throughout; he holds a lance and carries a sheathed sword whenever his posture and action allow. In four appearances, his weapons include a shield: three times on Sheet x in his action against Ai, and again on Sheet XIII when he directs the Sun and Moon to stand still (Fig. 2).

A clue to the approach taken by the Rotulus painter to the attributes of Joshua is provided by the silver vessels from Cyprus in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.²⁵ In these plates the significance of the iconographical items is made clear by the nature of David's role in the Biblical story. On the Anointing of David plate (Fig. 3), Samuel and David are not nimbed, the Biblical text (1 Samuel xvi, 13) stating that the Spirit of the Lord did not come upon David until after the anointing. In a later scene, when David has played upon his harp in order to refresh Saul (1 Samuel xvi, 23), both are nimbed, for the Spirit of the Lord is then with David who has caused the evil spirit to depart from Saul. Still later in the series comes the most instructive scene (Fig. 4) wherein David is armed before Saul (1 Samuel xvii, 38, 39); here both are nimbed and David wears under-tunic, cuirass, paludamentum, and carries lance and sword. An attendant in military costume, and wearing a casque, is shown in the act of placing a casque on the head of David. David refuses the casque, and, according to the text, puts off the lance and sword as well as the bow and shield, seen lying on the ground, saying: "I cannot go with these, for I have not proved them." He then goes out to do battle with Goliath, wearing civilian clothes and armed only with the Spirit of the Lord, the nimbus.

Joshua, the captain of the Israelites, is nimbed throughout the Roll, as has been said; he always wears a military costume, and makes use of lance, sword, and shield. In his moment of great triumph, he carries all three at once (Fig. 2). He wears a casque when participating directly in military activities, as he comes to do after the Archangel Michael comes before him, and Joshua becomes his servant (Joshua v, 13-15). Later on, Joshua acquires a great crested helmet after the Biblical text states that the Lord himself fought for Israel, and that the Lord's continuing assistance is assured (Joshua x, 9-14 and 16-26). It should be noted that Joshua is bareheaded when he receives the report of the flight of the Five Kings into the cave of Makkedah, an event that takes place between the two scenes in which he wears the crested helmet.

The punctilious manner of entering iconographical items practiced by the Rotulus painter would suggest that the Rotulus or its model could belong to the general time period of the Cyprus plates, securely dated in the second-third decade of the seventh century.²⁶ Support for this suggestion comes from the appearance in the sixth century of the combination of nimbus and elaborate headdress worn by Joshua in his moment of greatest triumph (Fig. 2). The famous gold medallion of the Emperor Justinian I²⁷ features a bust of Justinian nimbed, wearing a diadem and military costume of under-tunic, cuirass, and paludamentum fastened by a brooch; he carries a spear and behind his shoulder is seen a shield. Most important of all, he wears a richly ornamented helmet with plume of peacocks' feathers along with the nimbus (Fig. 1). The reverse of the medallion, struck in Constantinople, shows Justinian mounted on a horse, and gives the details of the rest of his costume which probably duplicated those of the equestrian figure of Justinian I once in the Augusteum at Constantinople.²⁸

25. O. M. Dalton, "Byzantine Plate and Jewellery from Cyprus in Mr. Morgan's Collection," *Burlington Magazine*, x, 1906-07, pp. 355-362, and figures. All three of the Metropolitan Museum plates mentioned in the argument are illustrated here.

26. L. Matzulevitch, *Byzantinische Antike*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1929, p. 22. I am indebted to Mr. William Forsyth of

the Metropolitan Museum for this bibliographical reference.

27. Wroth, *op.cit.*, 1, p. 25, Frontispiece.

28. A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, Paris, 1936, p. 46, with bibliography. It is exciting to read in M. Shapiro "The Place of the Joshua Roll in Byzantine History," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, March, 1949, p. 172 of an ancient equestrian statue in Constantinople interpreted in the tenth century as

Grabar has supplied an explanation for the two types of ornamented helmets; that with a crest was headdress for combat, that with a plume was a part of parade dress.²⁹ The crested helmet, like the female Tyche, was a classical element that had persisted through the centuries. It can be found on a bronze medallion of the time of Constantine I, the Great,³⁰ and on coins of Heraclius (610-641) and of Constantine IV, *Pogonatus* (668-685). Significantly enough, solidi struck at Constantinople under Constantine IV feature the emperor wearing either a helmet with plume or a helmet with crest.³¹

The foregoing survey of iconography having indicated the sixth-seventh century as one period during which the Rotulus or its model might have been produced, an examination may follow of the dated works of the post-iconoclastic period with Joshua scenes. Two miniatures of the Gregory manuscript in Paris, gr. 510,³² written and illuminated at Constantinople for Basil I between the years 880 and 886, depict scenes from the Book of Joshua. When directing the conquest of Jericho, Joshua is in military costume armed with a shield, but he does not wear a casque while participating in this military activity. Also he does not have a nimbus, according to Omont, whose text makes no reference to headdress or nimbus, although both Moses and St. Gregory of Nazianzen on the same folio are nimbed. In the second miniature, Joshua is represented in two scenes, combined though relatively far apart in time in the campaign of Joshua; he kneels, but does not stand, before the Archangel Michael, and he directs the Sun and Moon to stand still. In both scenes, Joshua wears a casque, although a crested helmet would seem to have been called for in the moment of triumph when the Lord himself is with Joshua. Apparently the punctilio observed in the pre-iconoclastic period is not practiced at this time. And in neither scene of the composite illustration is Joshua nimbed! He is, however, once again nimbed in the Vatican Bible, cod. Reg. gr. 1,³³ dated in the first half of the tenth century. Here in a rare scene from Deuteronomy, Joshua, with name inscribed, is portrayed as a scribe in civilian clothes, standing before Moses; both figures are bareheaded and both wear the nimbus. Inscriptions run around the frame of the picture, but the text does not invade the picture field as it does in other miniatures of the manuscript.

There are no other published dated manuscripts of the tenth century with Joshua scenes until the Menologium of Basil II,³⁴ written and illuminated by artists of Constantinople between the years 976 and 1025. Again it is the scene of Joshua before the Archangel which is depicted, this time in combination with the Burial of Joshua. Joshua appears twice with Michael, once standing with drawn sword resting on his shoulder, and once in the typical Byzantine proskynesis. In both instances, he wears a casque, and is nimbed, as is his mummy. Unlike the Rotulus drawing of this scene, the Menologium shows no female personification of the city of Jericho, although the city itself is depicted, as it had not been in the Paris Gregory.

Our survey of the iconography of Joshua should properly stop at this point, since no one has suggested that the Rotulus was done in the eleventh century when the first pictured Octateuch is dated, according to Weitzmann.³⁵ But the bronze doors of the church of St. Michael at Monte S. Angelo in Italy are of enough interest to call for brief mention here. A. K. Porter states³⁶ that

Joshua staying the Sun and Moon. I have not had time to track down Shapiro's references, but this work might conceivably furnish a further link between the iconography of Joshua and the emperor, whoever he may have been.

29. Grabar, *op.cit.*, p. 131.

30. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, p. 177 n. 148, pl. V, 1.

31. Wroth, *op.cit.*, I, p. 185, pl. XXIII, 2; and II, pp. 313, 314, pl. XXXVI, 1, 2.

32. H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1929, pls. XV-LX with text; p. 29, pl. LV, and p. 24, pl. XL.

33. *Miniature della Bibbia Cod. Vat. Regin. gr. 1, e del Salterio Cod. Vat. Palat. gr. 381* (Collezione paleografica Vaticano, fasc. 1) Milan, 1905, pl. IX, fol. 116r.

34. *Il menologio di Basilio II* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, VIII), Turin, 1907, p. 3. Morey, *Mediaeval Art*, pp. 115-116, in comparing the drawing of Joshua's meeting with the angel at Jericho in the Rotulus with "the replica with which one of the artists of the Menologium illustrated the feast of St. Michael" writes: "the sketchy impressionism of the Alexandrian style is stiffened to convention, with rhythm of pose and movement eliminated." Weitzmann, *op.cit.*, p. 43 n. 14, says: "The Vatican Menologium is the clearest example of a mixture of several styles which are due to the models rather than the personalities of the eight artists, who signed every picture."

35. Weitzmann, *op.cit.*, p. 6.

36. A. K. Porter, "Wreckage from a Tour in Apulia," *Mélanges à G. Schlumberger*, II, p. 412, fig. 76. Twelve door

"the doors were made at Constantinople, and are dated 1076 by an inscription of indubitable authenticity." One panel of the left valve gives an abbreviated scene of Joshua in military costume before the Archangel; he stands before Michael holding a lance and carrying a sword at his side, and he also prostrates himself. Joshua wears a casque, but he is not nimbed, although all the other Biblical figures represented on other panels of the doors are nimbed.

The above observations on the iconography of Joshua do not settle the issue of the period to which the Vatican Rotulus belongs. However, they indicate that the present Roll or its model could have been illustrated in the Early Byzantine period. Furthermore, they may be seen to refute Weitzmann's contention that the Vatican Rotulus is a creative work based on a tenth century model. In this connection, one fact is of especial significance. In the Menologium of Basil II, Joshua, as has been said, stands before Michael with drawn sword on his shoulder, emulating the Archangel himself in this. In the same scene in the Rotulus, Joshua stands in a far more respectful manner with sheathed sword at his side. From a typological standpoint, this is a tremendous change,³⁷ so great, in fact, that it becomes difficult to believe that the artist who created the Rotulus drawing was a near contemporary of the illustrator of the Menologium scene. Nevertheless, the possibility exists that the Vatican Rotulus may be a tenth century copy of an Early Byzantine model. This is the opinion of H. Lietzmann, based also on a study in which stylistic analysis plays little part.³⁸

Lietzmann believes that both text and pictures of the Rotulus were copied in the tenth century from a single early model whose most controversial date is more difficult to determine than is that of the Rotulus itself. He reasons that the lacunae in the excerpts from the Septuagint text, written beneath the wash drawings and sometimes invading them, are due to the tenth century scribe's inability to read the faded text of his model. This serious attempt to arrive at an understanding of the relationship in time between pictures and text is answered in kind by Morey who holds to "the very natural supposition that the original text was written at the end of the roll, or on a separate roll, that it had become injured by use, and that a tenth century restorer copied it upon the pictures,"³⁹ dated ca. A.D. 700. Lietzmann's theory is passed over somewhat lightly by Weitzmann with the argument that "such lacunae could also have existed in a fuller text."⁴⁰ Weitzmann's own theory of a close collaboration between creative artist and scribe, both working for Constantine VII in the mid-tenth century, runs into difficulty when confronted by the mistakes and omissions on the part of the artist, particularly when he "forgot to depict an attribute" in the hands of the executioner of the King of Ai.⁴¹ This same theory is, likewise, too weak to take into account two failures of the scribe; first, he did not run his text under the interpolated scene of the dragging along of the captured Amorite kings, and secondly, he did not enter a text passage for the interpolated burning of Jericho,⁴² although a "fuller text" might have supplied the scribe with verse 24 of the sixth chapter of the Book of Joshua. Strangely enough, the scribe did not explain these interpolations of the artist with whom he was working, according to Weitzmann. And equally strange is his attitude toward the inscription labels he entered. These are in two types of uncials which Weitzmann presses into heavy service to prove his theory: those with archaic lettering—a type, by the way, that per-

panels are reproduced here. Morey, *Mediaeval Art*, p. 122 (line drawing).

37. The change can be followed in Imperial coins of the Middle Byzantine period. Wroth, *op.cit.*, I, Introduction, p. lvii, says of Isaac I. Comnenus (1057-1059): "Zonaras and Seylitzes record that Isaac caused himself to be represented on his gold coins with a drawn sword in his hand (see this type, pl. LX.12), and that they take this representation to be an act of vainglory on the part of the Emperor, who thus seemed to ascribe his good fortune in securing his throne not to Providence but to his personal prowess."

38. H. Lietzmann, "Zur Datierung der Josuarolle," *Mittelalterliche Handschriften, Festschrift H. Degering*, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 181-185.

39. Morey, *ART BULLETIN*, XI, p. 47. Morey's supposition follows from his objections to Lietzmann's view. The foremost of these, namely, that "the drawings are placed midway on the parchment with no apparent notion of leaving space for the text," is effectively met by Weitzmann, *op.cit.*, p. 46. His last objection that "the text invades the drawings and is tucked in between the figures in an unsightly manner which would hardly have been the case had the copy of text and drawings been the result of a single plan" may be answered by pointing to the example of the Vatican Bible, cod. Reg. gr. 1 (see our footnote 33 and text).

40. Weitzmann, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

sisted into the Early Byzantine period, as Weitzmann states—"may be regarded as a phenomenon of the revival movement of the tenth century"; while the uncials with characteristics of late lettering are held to supply one of the principal props for Weitzmann's tenth century dating for the picture frieze.⁴³ Morey and Lietzmann give a more plausible explanation for the appearance together of the two types of uncial inscription labels. They hold that the scribe copied those inscriptions which were legible in the model, and made substitutions in uncials of the day for those which were not legible.

Investigation of the relationship in time of the text and drawings of the Vatican Rotulus leads to the belief that it is a tenth century copy of a single early model with inscriptions, text and drawings. Observations on the iconography of Joshua point to the Early Byzantine period as a most likely epoch during which the iconography of this model was set. But this does not mean that the time has come to pronounce the Rotulus a tenth century copy of an Early Byzantine model. Before that can be done with any real assurance, a report must be had from Carolingian and Ottonian scholars corroborating the findings of Byzantine scholars. For the latter, much remains to be done on the Rotulus itself. No one, so far as I know, has ever ventured an explanation for its great size, or for the technical method employed, namely, wash drawing.⁴⁴ Perhaps the Rotulus was made as a copy of a wall painting, or in preparation for mosaic cartoons. Such being the case, a rotulus with continuous frieze composition would have been the most appropriate and serviceable device, and the great size would have followed. The choice of medium, according to this explanation, was dictated; gouache paintings on parchment can not be rolled and unrolled without chipping and peeling, whereas wash drawings can, as the Vatican Rotulus proves. We know very little about pre-iconoclastic figured mosaics, and still less about practical matters of their execution. But we do know that such mosaics existed, since there are literary references to examples commemorating imperial military triumphs. Furthermore, much remains to be done with literary references to Joshua; here, Schapiro has made a good start.⁴⁵ And finally, the conclusions as to dating, arrived at through research in the iconographical, technical, and literary fields, must not be contradictory to the verdict of those who deal with questions of style, and these scholars must be in agreement. With regard to the latter, it may be stated at this point that the burden of proof is heaviest on those who would upset Morey's pattern of evolution with the concept of a tenth century renaissance of classical elements not to be found in the Early Byzantine period. For the theory of the evolution of Byzantine art evolved by Morey is so reasonable, and has been stated with such consistency and clarity, that it may stand as one of the outstanding achievements of the great mediaevalist of Princeton.

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 45.

44. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, p. 69: "The Rotulus of Joshua is now separated into its fifteen membranes which are kept loose in an album; before division the roll was about thirty-five feet long." Weitzmann, *op.cit.*, p. 86: "While all preserved Psalters of the Aristocratic recension are painted in

thick gouache . . . , the Joshua Rotulus has the character of wash drawings, a rare, though not unique, technique."

45. Schapiro, *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 1949, pp. 172-173. Also, J. P. Richter and A. C. Taylor, *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, London, 1904, pp. 212-272 ("the Fourth Typological Series-Joshua").

THE JOSHUA ROLL: ORIGINAL OR COPY?

DIMITRI TSELOS

UNTIL recently most scholars of early mediaeval art considered the Joshua Roll (Vatican Library, Cod. Palat. gr. 431) a descendant of a lost late antique illustrated rotulus, even though they might have differed widely on the date of the extant work.¹ This opinion was lately challenged by Professor Kurt Weitzmann. In a monograph devoted to that famous manuscript he advanced the unprecedented theory that the Roll is not a copy of an older roll but an original creation of the Byzantine renaissance in the tenth century;² that the artist of the Roll borrowed the basic scenes of the military campaign of Joshua from an Octateuch cycle and corrected them—as a scholar corrects a text by drawing upon other texts—by the addition of an illusionistic landscape setting, architectural forms, and some special elements which he calls “insertion motifs,” the first two intended to enrich the pictorial synthesis and the last to fill the joints between the borrowed scenes. Furthermore, the artist is said to have introduced all the personifications in the Roll, having adapted them for that purpose directly from antique secular manuscripts which were found in the Imperial Library in Constantinople. The final result—the Joshua Roll, the like of which is said not to have existed before—was probably created to serve as a diminutive equivalent of an imperial column (and probably influenced by the imperial triumphal columns in Constantinople) in honor of the Byzantine emperor, Constantine Porphyrogenetos. Its form and content were also intended to reflect the interest of the emperor in the revival of classical art and in the career and character of Joshua, who was at once the embodiment of the great Biblical hero and the victorious ideal of the Macedonian renaissance.³

In the light of Weitzmann's theory, the Rotulus becomes the key monument of the Macedonian renaissance, whose definition has become one of his major scholarly objectives. Despite occasional waverings, his thesis rests on the following arguments: that since no scroll with a continuous picture-frieze existed before the Joshua Roll, the latter must be a special creation;⁴ that one of the Octateuchs, Vat. gr. 747, in an analytical comparison of its Joshua miniatures with the corresponding ones in the Roll appears to be iconographically the most faithful to the lost Octateuch archetype and therefore could be taken as an accurate reflection of it in all its aspects.⁵ From the last inference issued a third, that all those pictorial elements which do not appear in Vat. 747 (i.e. the archetype) must have been introduced in the Rotulus at the time of its special creation.⁶

In inverting the generally accepted origin of the Rotulus in a study which aims at being the definitive work on the subject, Weitzmann invites very serious consideration of his theory and the evidence upon which it rests. The present study is at once a critical analysis of a few crucial and representative points in his book and a demonstration through new internal and external evidence that his conclusions are not supported by the available facts. The relation of the Roll to the Octateuchs and other works will be investigated only in so far as it is necessary to prove my points. The definitive genealogical relation of the Roll and the Octateuchs cannot be fully established until the

1. For complete bibliography and summary of opinions see Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll, A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance*, Princeton, 1948, p. 3. To these contributions should be added M. Schapiro, “The Place of the Joshua Roll in Byzantine History,” *Gazette des beaux-arts*, March, 1949, pp. 161-176.

2. Weitzmann, *ibid.*, *passim*; cf. P. Buberl, “Das Problem der Wiener Genesis,” *Jahrb. d. kunsth. Samml. in Wien*, N.F. x, 1936, pp. 26, 27, 40.

3. All the above, Weitzmann, *op.cit.*, pp. v-vi, 3-5, 100-114.

4. *Loc.cit.*; Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, Princeton, 1947, pp. 128ff.

5. *Joshua Roll*, pp. 6ff., 30ff., 36. For convenience, references to the Octateuchs will henceforth be made by the following abbreviations: “Vat. 746” for Vatican cod. gr. 746; “Vat. 747” for Vatican cod. gr. 747; and “Vatop. 602” for Mt. Athos, Vatopedi cod. 602.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 33ff., 51ff.

Princeton group of scholars has completed its projected plan to publish together all the relevant miniatures of the Septuagint.

The question of the date of the Roll is not considered here since the special number of *THE ART BULLETIN* for which this article is prepared imposes limitations upon its length.

The general acceptance of the idea that the Roll was a copy of an older roll was based upon the many minor errors which appear in its miniatures and on the belief that the roll with a continuous picture-frieze was a legacy of classical antiquity.⁷ Weitzmann's investigations in the evolution of the roll and codex led him to the conclusion that no other rotulus such as the Joshua Roll ever existed.⁸ He contends that the extant ancient illustrated rolls contained only individual scenes and short friezes, like some of the preserved Octateuchs, and that the background was not added until relatively late in their development.⁹ The final integration of such scenes and friezes of rich landscape and personifications was not effected until the Joshua Roll was created.¹⁰ He adduced sufficient authoritative opinion to show that the spiral reliefs of the Column of Trajan were not based on a roll with a continuous picture-frieze. But he failed to canvass all the implications of the imperial column reliefs.¹¹ As also pointed out by Schapiro,¹² they imply the preparation of preliminary and fairly finished studies which must have been conceived as parts of a continuous frieze and the influence of such process could not have ended only with the creation of the reliefs. The monumental prominence of the reliefs and their obvious kinship to pictorial art would have exerted some influence upon contemporary and later art. Weitzmann believes that the imperial columns in Constantinople determined in part the form of the Joshua Roll.¹³ But he has not disproved entirely the possibility of the creation of such a roll between the second and eighth centuries of the Christian era when the imperial columns of Rome and Constantinople were still in excellent condition and when the illusionistic style was a living tradition. In a sense the earliest spiral reliefs are the last stage in the evolution of the continuous "pictorial" frieze, which involved the integration of separate scenes and the addition of a continuous landscape setting as conceived by Weitzmann.¹⁴ It seems unthinkable that the Septuagint illustrations began as simple settingless compositions and, having gone through the first two centuries of the Christian era, remained completely unaffected either by the column reliefs or by the illusionist style which dominated Greco-Roman pictorial art of that period.

Whatever the exact answer to the foregoing questions, the nature of the multitude of errors in the miniatures of the Roll should have been sufficient proof that it was copied from another similar

7. See note 1; *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 123ff.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 128ff.

9. *Loc.cit.*; *Joshua Roll*, pp. 52ff.

10. *Loc.cit.* Before this study goes any further it should consider Weitzmann's theoretical analogy between textual correction and the "correction" or enrichment of manuscript illustration (*ibid.*, p. 36). As I understand it, the process of textual rectification is first concerned with the detection of various textual deficiencies which indicate to the scholar the nature of errors and omissions. He may then correct some of these purely on logical, grammatical, or contextual grounds. But any extensive correction or reconstruction of the text depends upon the discovery of "older" authentic texts or copies of them which in one degree or another preserve the text of the archetype. By critically correlating these various sources, the scholar is able to reconstruct the text as closely after the archetype as its various descendants permit. Thus while in principle I agree with Weitzmann that a reconstructed text of the fifteenth century may be more accurate than a fifth century corrupt copy of a second century archetype, I wish to emphasize the fact that nevertheless a proper correction of a text depends upon older texts of the same family which in one degree or another derive from the archetype and not from completely different archetypes. The aim at all times is to approximate as closely as possible the archetype and not to improve upon it. If then one were to apply the principle of proper textual criticism to

the presumed "correction" of the Joshua Roll miniatures, which according to Weitzmann were enriched by the addition of figure, landscape, and architectural motifs and personifications, he must conclude that the Rotulus artist found them in older descendants of the Biblical archetype. But since Weitzmann insists that these were elements borrowed from non-Biblical sources, the principle of textual correction, if applicable at all to the problem, would prove that the Rotulus must be an utterly corrupt rather than a corrected work.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 100ff.

12. M. Schapiro, "The Place of the Joshua Roll in Byzantine History," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, March, 1949, p. 170.

13. *Joshua Roll*, pp. 101ff.

14. *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 128ff.; *Joshua Roll*, pp. 100ff. The differences which he finds in the Roll in comparison with the imperial columns may be applicable against an argument for an immediate and direct influence but not against the broad principle of the integration of many separate motifs into one continuous frieze or roll. The differences between the spiral relief and the Roll in the organization of their scenes is to be explained by the fact that the former was initially conceived as a continuous frieze whereas the latter inherited in part the tradition of the roll with many separate scenes. But from the available evidence it cannot be said that the Joshua Roll was the first to create the continuous picture-frieze.

roll and not made up from the fragmentary illustrations of a sparingly illustrated Octateuch. Weitzmann is aware of some of the shortcomings of the Roll and he confesses that it is often more corrupt than any of the Octateuchs.¹⁵ But while he is briefly and occasionally apologetic about them, like a teacher who does not wish to dwell upon the imperfections of a favorite pupil, his basic conclusions remain unaltered. Indeed, he converts what he considers major corruptions to positive contributions on the theory that the more the Roll departs from the parallel scenes of the Octateuchs the more original it becomes in comparison to the archetypal Octateuch.¹⁶

Many of the minor errors have been pointed out by other scholars who dealt with the subject.¹⁷ A particularly long list may be gathered from the Vatican publication on the manuscript.¹⁸ It would have been pointless to repeat here even a few of the most significant ones were it not for Weitzmann's attitude in ignoring their implications or converting them to his strange theory. Practically every scene contains errors in the drawing of the figures and accessory objects, but they are more difficult to see in the diminutive reproductions in Weitzmann's publication than in the Vatican facsimile. From the numerous deformations of bodies, faces, hands, legs, feet, etc., a few may be singled out for special illustration. The reader is invited to notice the amorphous fingerless masses that are meant for hands in the detail from the scene of the stoning of Achan (Fig. 1); the clumsy drawing of the legs of the soldiers behind Joshua (Fig. 3); in the same illustration, the absurd downward extension of the skirt of the soldier immediately behind Joshua; the strange deformation of the fallen soldiers under Joshua's feet (Fig. 2); and the incomprehensible distortions of the soldiers in Figure 4. These errors, together with the many others in the Roll should be sufficient to prove that the artist of the Roll, who was incapable in interpreting these details intelligently, could not have been making a synthesis from different sources but rather copying from only one older model, and very likely a roll. But since Weitzmann implies throughout his study that the errors were the "corruptions" of a man struggling hard to rejuvenate and enrich a poor set of Octateuch illustrations, I must resort further to a detailed analysis of some crucial scenes and details in the Roll and their parallels in the Octateuchs. It must be recalled that the keystone of his theory is his presumed demonstration that Vat. 747 reflects the archetype "with great purity" and that any deviation from it in the corresponding Rotulus scenes must have been interpolated by the painter of the latter.¹⁹

Consider one of these deviations which he calls "insertion motifs." It represents a tree, which like many others, according to Weitzmann, was intended to "fill" the joints of the separate Octateuch miniatures which were used to make the continuous picture-frieze of the Roll.²⁰ Weitzmann grants that the archetype must have had some kind of vegetation such as the shrubs preserved in Vat. 747. But he contends that the Roll artist painted in their place large trees some of which rise almost to the top of the Roll. The tree in question which is crucial for his theory—and mine—is found in the middle of Sheet 1 and adjacent to a stele-like monument (Fig. 7). Weitzmann claims that it did not exist in the archetypal Octateuch since it does not appear in Vat. 747 (Fig. 8).²¹ Therefore he explains its presence in the Roll as an interpolation intended to join, or divide, the scene representing the Israelite spies and their pursuers from the next scene showing the army of Israelites departing toward Jordan. Unfortunately for this conclusion, the Octateuch miniature had flaked off and gives the impression that it did not have a tree. But a careful examination of the motif, in comparison with the corresponding one in Vat. 746 (Fig. 9), shows that the underdrawing provided not only for a stele but also for an adjacent tree which rose above it, and overlapped with its trunk the frame of the stele and part of that of the miniature as in Vat. 746. For obvious reasons then, the motif must have existed in the archetype. The awkward transformation of the stele in the Roll is hardly indicative of a creative intelligence which might have reinterpreted the motif into a sacred grove, such as

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-35.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-29, 47ff.

17. See note 1.

18. *Il rotulo di Giosuè* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, vol. v)

(facsimile), Milan 1905, pp. 19ff.

19. *Joshua Roll*, pp. 31ff., 36, 53ff.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 53ff.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 8ff., 53ff.

Weitzmann supposes.²² More likely, the motif was either distorted or obscure in the model and the Roll artist was unable either to correct it or to bring it out intelligibly. Since this was the only instance in which an interpolated tree might have served to join or divide the scenes presumably brought together by the Roll artist, we can safely ignore the theory of tree insertions, for it does not apply elsewhere in the light of the evidence afforded by the existing works.

Although the landscape setting was not discussed as one of the "insertion motifs," it constitutes the most important element in Weitzmann's theory of the secondary enrichment of the Joshua miniatures in the Roll.²³ The theory, as noted above, rests on the belief that Vat. 747 reflects faithfully the archetype and that any deviations in the Roll from that Octateuch must be considered interpolations of the Roll artist. But in his demonstration of the superiority of the landscape setting of the Roll, Weitzmann limited his comparison to the admittedly worst portion of Vat. 747—the Joshua cycle.²⁴ Had he considered the settings of the Genesis cycle as the better reflection of the archetypal Octateuch, he should have concluded that all the landscape features which he attributes to the reworking of the Roll existed in the archetype, but they were considerably transformed in their descent through several intermediate copyings. Figure 5 from the Genesis cycle of Vat. 747 shows clearly, though crudely, the illusionistic formula for landscape setting: its several planes of mountains and atmosphere, space, trees, etc.—all by far superior to those in the Joshua cycle of the same manuscript and suggesting the original existence of a much richer archetype.²⁵

Weitzmann's further attempt to show that the lost miniatures of the Joshua Roll at the beginning and at the end, as revealed by a comparison of Vat. 747 with other Octateuchs, indicated that the illusionistic landscape was coextensive only with the Joshua cycle of the Roll and its theoretically dependent manuscripts (Vatop. 602, Vat. 746 and affiliated works) rests on disputable evidence.²⁶ The iconographic superiority he finds in the initial miniatures of Vat. 747, e.g. the hiding of the spies in the hills (Figs. 7, 8), seems like a wishful effort to demonstrate the inferiority of its landscape setting to that of the Roll and thereby to "prove" that the setting in the Roll was freshly interpolated.²⁷ Neither in that scene nor in the scene of Moses taken by the angel to Mount Nebo can one see differences in the landscape setting which could not be explained from their diverging descent from a common archetype, from which the cruder hand of Vat. 747 departed qualitatively much more than the Roll or its partly dependent work, the Vatopedi Octateuch.²⁸

The value of the comparison between the lost terminal miniatures of the Roll and the inferentially corresponding ones in Vat. 746 rests upon a presumed agreement in "error," which would make the Octateuch derive indirectly from the Roll, and thereby make the former a reflection of the latter.²⁹ But the evidence for that relation is very dubious. It is based on the belief that the separation in Vat. 746 of Achan and his captors from the group of people (accompanying him or

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 54. 23. *Ibid.*, pp. 55ff., 90ff.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-33, 14ff. Weitzmann's mutually contradictory statements concerning Vat. 747 are the best commentary on the weakness of his theory. On p. 3 he says that the Vat. gr. 747 is at its poorest in the Joshua cycle, but nevertheless throughout the comparative analysis of the Joshua scenes he uses the Octateuch as if it were a faithful reflection of the archetype both stylistically and iconographically. On p. 32 he sides with Kondakoff who found the execution of 747 superior to the other Octateuchs and who spoke in general of the "extreme finesse of the miniatures," but Weitzmann does not see that the implied reservation probably meant to exclude the Joshua cycle upon which he rests his theory of the superiority and originality of the Roll. Finally, while he admits (p. 33) that the Vat. 747 "is not a direct copy of the archetype but descends from one or more intermediary copies through which it was gradually transformed," he still argues that the occasionally superior iconographic accuracy of this manuscript over the Roll implies that the Vatican Octateuch must be a "pure" reflection of the archetype in all its aspects and in the stemma

he shows it as deriving directly from the archetype (p. 38).

25. For comparable features in landscape setting much better rendered and revealing the richer tradition of the Septuagint illustrations, see the miniatures of the Utrecht Psalter (E. T. De Wald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter*, Princeton, plates, *passim*) and the Joshua cycle of the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome: J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg, 1917, III, pls. 23-28.

26. *Joshua Roll*, pp. 33-38, 89ff. On the question whether Vatop. 602 is in part derived from the Roll, see note 57.

27. *Op.cit.*, pp. 8-9, 89ff. A comparison of figures 7, 8, in this study shows that the spies in Vat. 747 may be more literally hidden from their pursuers, but the illustration in the Roll shows the much more intelligent and artistic suggestion of their disappearance in the mountain beyond a screen of trees and at a greater distance from the frontal picture plane upon which the riders are represented.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 35, 94.

witnessing his judgment) and their placement in a separate miniature was occasioned by the division of the membranes of the Roll at a "near-by" point. This point came between Joshua sitting in judgment and the other figures of the scene including Achan, his captors, and the group of spectators.³⁰ Obviously, the two divisions do not coincide exactly and therefore there is no agreement in error. Besides the disposition of almost all of the figures and the landscape setting in the Octateuch scenes of the judgment of Achan do not resemble those of the Roll but those of Vat. 747 which from Weitzmann's own testimony is not dependent on the Roll.³¹ Even if the division of the Roll sheets coincided with the misdivision in the Octateuchs, Weitzmann would have to explain how it was possible for their model to avoid successfully many more exceptionally complex "opportunities" for similar errors inherent in the other joints of the Roll.³² The separation of the group of people from the judgment of Achan could be explained as a misinterpretation of the identity of the group by the artist of the Octateuch model. Chapter VII, 25, speaks of the stoning not only of Achan but also of his family—and is thus illustrated in Roll and Octateuch—and it is possible that the artist who divided the scenes from the older roll model or longer frieze understood them to be the family of Achan and therefore placed them in the following miniature which shows Achan being dragged to be stoned in the valley of Achor.³³ Another reasonable explanation would be that the artist did not have sufficient room in the first miniature to include the group in question. Whatever the reason for the separation of the group from the rest, it certainly was not caused by the Roll's division of the membranes near that point. Comparable illogical division of scenes or grouping of unrelated episodes appear elsewhere in the Octateuchs, without the intervention of the Roll.³⁴ The incorporation of part of the retreating army of the Israelites (who have been repulsed by the army of Ai during the first skirmish) with the previous miniature showing them just starting for the campaign against Ai undoubtedly has been caused by the tree that obscures and visually divides the army into two parts, as Weitzmann observed.³⁵ But in the absence of any positive evidence that the tree was interpolated in the Roll and in view of the fact that the location of the tree does not coincide with the joint of the membranes, the resultant error cannot be attributed to the miniatures of the Vatican Roll.³⁶ Even Vat. 747, which could not have been influenced by the membrane division in the Roll, groups certain scenes like other Octateuchs without reference to clear logical relation. In one miniature we find the prayer of Joshua combined with the judgment of Achan, a combination which may be said to have a plausible justification since Joshua prays to discover the trespasser who caused the defeat of the Israelites.³⁷ But the next miniature joins the stoning of Achan, which belongs to chapter seven and to another series of episodes, with the next prayer of Joshua and the departure of the thirty thousand, which are evoked by the next chapter.³⁸ Similarly, the scene showing Joshua listening to the report of the spies—chapter six—is represented together with the army departing for Ai, which belongs to the next chapter.³⁹ It is, therefore, very unlikely that the misdivision of the judgment of Achan in Vat. 746 had any connection with the separation of the membranes of the Joshua Roll and consequently no relation between the two manuscripts exists other than their ultimate derivation from the same archetype. By virtue of the same evidence, Vat. 746 becomes an independent point of reference in the question of whether the Joshua Roll inherited its landscape from the archetype or acquired it by special enrichment at the time of its hypothetical reworking. A comparison between the landscape of one of the terminal miniatures of the Joshua cycle of Vat. 746

30. *Ibid.*, p. 35, figs. 23, 26, 29, 30. Since Vat. 746 agrees with Vatop. 602 on this "error," the latter may serve the purpose of comparing the miniature with Vat. 747, for both of the latter are illustrated by Weitzmann, *op.cit.*, figs. 27-30.

31. *Ibid.*, figs. 27, 29.

32. *Ibid.*, figs. 5-9, 13-16, 16-19, 22-23, 34-37, 37-42. On the contrary, none of the other scenes which were so divided in the Roll and of which parallels exist in Vat. 746 and its sister manuscripts have any misdivided scenes which might be attrib-

uted to the influence of the Roll. See *Il rotulo di Giosuè*, plates in text volume; D. C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'octateuque grec de Smyrne*, Leyden, 1909; T. Ouspensky, *L'octateuque de la Bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople*, Sofia, 1907.

33. *Joshua Roll*, figs. 26, 28, 29, 30.

34. Vatop. 602 is expected; cf. *ibid.*, figs. 19-21, but see also note 57.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

37. *Ibid.*, fig. 27.

38. *Ibid.*, fig. 28.

39. *Ibid.*, figs. 20-21.

with a scene from the Joshua series in the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore leaves no doubt as to the antiquity of that element, and the possibility of a common tradition for their conventionalized mountain range (Figs. 12, 13).⁴⁰ Although the Roman mosaic is much earlier than the Roll and the Octateuch later, it is interesting to see how the lesser artists of the first and last works have stylized and impoverished the naturalistic complexity of the archetypal landscape as reflected in the comparative authenticity of the Roll.

The relative fidelity of the Roll to the illusionist tradition is also noted in the treatment of the slope, which, like a theater wing, is often used to separate scenes or to provide a convenient device for disposing groups of figures or other objects behind it. Weitzmann contends that this landscape feature was one of the insertion motifs adapted from non-Biblical antique works—of unknown character.⁴¹ But the actual source may be more reliably established by a scrupulous comparison of the Roll scene showing Joshua sending off the spies on their mission with the parallel motif in Vat. 747 (Figs. 10, 11). The difference is one of degree only and may be expected to result from a crudely drawn miniature such as that of the Octateuch. The basic archetypal features which lie behind both miniatures are all there: the slope coming down from the left, hiding in part Joshua's guard and terminating behind his throne. In the Roll, however, the slope, like the figures, retains much of the original naturalistic character of the archetype, but in the Octateuch the slope is reduced in size and precipitous effect, and, like the figures and other elements, crudely transformed. The same tendency for reducing the archetypal features to summary conventional and crudely drawn forms is noted in the setting behind the departing spies and again where they return to Joshua (Figs. 10, 11). In the Roll scenes, the hills have a precipitous slope on the left, a rounded slope on the right side with a stepped effect near the top. In the corresponding Octateuch scenes, the more precipitous left slope and the more rounded right slope are comparably differentiated, but the over-all shape of the Rotulus hills and their more intelligible stepped effects have been reduced in the Octateuch to two identical conventional forms with a double nub at the top. Still it cannot be denied that the basic analogies in the roll and Octateuch scenes suggest their ultimate derivation from the same archetype. Conversely, their differences are to be attributed largely to the artist of the Octateuch miniatures, who not only impoverished the landscape setting repeatedly but was so indifferent to iconographic propriety that he increased the number of the two spies to three (Fig. 10).

The same argument may be used against Weitzmann's contention that the cubes and altars in the landscape setting of the Roll were inserted during its reworking.⁴² Such objects abound in the tradition of Biblical illustration as shown in other books of Vat. 747, the Utrecht Psalter and other manuscripts whose connection with the Septuagint tradition is unmistakable.⁴³ Neither the tower nor the sacred grove motif could be considered later interpolations when they exist in several variants in the Utrecht Psalter.⁴⁴

The theory that the personifications in the Roll are insertion motifs should be likewise rejected.⁴⁵ Aside from the fact that they do not serve the function attributed to the trees, slopes, etc., they are not in any way distinguished stylistically from the other figures in the Roll miniatures so as to reveal their fresh interpolation into the Roll. They are sufficiently inferior in articulation and modeling to the prototypes which Weitzmann adduces for comparison that they imply a longer process in their descent to their present status. If there is a reduction in the number of personifications in Vat. 746 and its sister Octateuchs, and if they are practically absent in Vat. 747, it is prob-

40. Wilpert, *op.cit.*, pl. 23.

41. *Joshua Roll*, pp. 55, 90ff.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 57ff.

43. Vat. 747, fol. 34, 34v, 61v; Utrecht Psalter, fol. 4v, 5v, 11, 61v, 83; Vat. gr. 1927, fols. 266, 274v, 285v. For justification of this view and more conveniently illustrated comparisons see: Benson and Tselos, "New Light on the Origin of the Utrecht Psalter," *ART BULLETIN*, XIII, 1931, pp. 53ff. and Figs. 115, 117, 199.

44. *Joshua Roll*, pp. 60ff. For parallels in the Utrecht Psalter see Benson-Tselos, *op.cit.*, figs. 80-81, 118, 171. The cylindrical tower in *Joshua Roll*, fig. 31, is not a corruption of the type but another kind the parallel of which is found in gr. 510 (Paris. Bibl. Nat. Ms. gr. 510), H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Paris, 1929, pl. 31.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 64ff., 89ff.

ably because of the general tendency in the Octateuchs to reduce the various items in the illustration to a minimum—especially in Vat. 747. Conversely, the retention of a fair number of personifications in Vat. 746 and its affiliated manuscripts, which, as I have shown, do not depend on the Rotulus, suggests that the archetype contained many more such figures than have survived in the Octateuchs. Indeed, the greater authenticity of the personifications in the Roll is one of the best arguments in favor of its having descended from the archetype more faithfully or more directly than any Octateuch. If more evidence were needed that the Septuagint illustrations were rich in a great variety of antique personifications, one need but look at the miniatures of such well-preserved descendants as the Utrecht Psalter and the copies of the Cotton Genesis.⁴⁶

Thus the "insertion motifs" no less than the landscape setting and the errors in the rendering of details argue not for a reworking of Octateuch elements in the form of a roll enriched with motifs borrowed from secular manuscripts, but for a more faithful copy of another similar manuscript, very likely a roll.

The relative superiority of the Roll to the Octateuchs can be demonstrated also by its fuller iconography and its peculiar divergences from the Octateuch cycle. Weitzmann argues that the deviations from the Octateuch cycle were made intentionally and with the close collaboration of the scribe who adjusted his textual excerpts to the illustrations above.⁴⁷ This argument would have been more convincing but for the contradictory evidence of the so-called insertion motifs discussed above and the contradictions of the inscribed text itself. In the light of that evidence one must look at the deviations of the Roll from the Octateuch cycle not as willful departures but, on the contrary, as more faithful survivals of the archetype. A comparative analysis of the Roll and Vat. 747 in the series of episodes relating to the crossing of the River Jordan, the battle of Jericho, and the battle of Ai will provide sufficient substantiation of my argument. It must be recalled that for reasons already considered I do not accept Weitzmann's conclusion that Vat. 747 is iconographically or otherwise the most accurate reflection of the archetype. In my subsequent discussion therefore, I am assuming that the miniatures of the Roll and the Octateuch are still to prove their relation to the archetype.

Weitzmann contends that the miniature in Vat. 747 which represents the priests carrying the ark to the brink of the river is more accurate than the first appearance of the ark in the Roll which he assumes to be a parallel scene (Figs. 14, 15).⁴⁸ But in my opinion the two scenes are only superficially alike and in reality illustrate different passages of the Septuagint text. The Rotulus scene renders the first important episode in Chapter III, 6, which says: "And Joshua spake unto the priests saying, take up the ark of the covenant and pass before the people. And they took up the ark of the covenant and went before the people." This interpretation is confirmed by the location of the ark before Joshua, the army, and the people, by the presence of a rocky setting and the logical absence of the river—as well as its personification—all of which mean that the procession had not yet reached the river. The inscribed text agrees with this interpretation, for it is composed of verses 5 and 6.⁴⁹ The Octateuch miniature, on the other hand, illustrates verse 15 and refers to the later episode of the priests coming to the bank of the River Jordan and dipping their feet "in the brim of the water."

The next Octateuch scene (Fig. 16), showing the priests in the dry river bed flanked by two masses of water which "rose up upon a heap," also is a literal illustration of verse 16, which explains

46. De Wald, *Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter*, pls. *passim*; C. R. Morey, "Notes on East Christian Miniatures," *ART BULLETIN*, XI, 1929, fig. 6.

47. *Joshua Roll*, pp. 33ff., 47ff.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 9ff. In order not to complicate the analysis of these scenes unnecessarily by considering what appears to me in Weitzmann's interpretations as a priori erroneous, I shall for the most part concentrate on my own interpretations and refer

to Weitzmann's study only in areas of relevant and significant disagreement.

49. In accepting the inscribed text as confirmation of my own interpretations of the Roll scenes, I do not thereby subscribe to the theory of collaboration between artist and scribe nor do I accept the view that the text was added at the time the drawings were made.

the separation of the waters and the drying up of the river bed before the people could cross. The parallel scene in the Joshua Roll, which Weitzmann considers corrupt, is a most interesting variant from the Octateuch series and, in my opinion, far from "corrupt" (Fig. 14). The elimination of the river stream there or of the arrested waters is more apparent than real. If one examines carefully the original or the facsimile copy of the Roll, he will actually find a thin stream of water issuing from the urn of the personification of the river and gathered in a narrow, roughly horizontal channel just below (Fig. 6). Moreover, the area below and to the left of the personification is decidedly unlike any other in the Roll miniatures and resembles a corrugated valley or a partly dried river bed with reedlike plants growing along the shore which are quite different from the rest of the vegetation in the mountainous settings of the Roll. Chapter III, 17, which could account for the scene—as also indicated by the inscribed text—does not mention the "heaping" of the waters, but only that the priests stood on dry land in the middle of Jordan. It is conceivable that the "lower" part of the divided river existed in the archetype or model under the feet of the priests, but the stage in its descent at which it was eliminated would be as conjectural as the question of its existence in the model.⁵⁰

Judging from the foregoing comparisons it appears that the Octateuch scene showing the priests "in the brim" of Jordan (Fig. 15) was not represented in the Roll, and the Roll scene showing the priests in the middle of the dry river bed has been complicated by the introduction of a group of men behind the ark handling stones. Following the interpretation of the Vatican editors of the facsimile publication of the Rotulus, Weitzmann contends that the men are building an altar.⁵¹ The movements of the men, however, are such that they can be understood either as laying down stones or picking them up, for one set of movements is the reverse sequence of the other. I believe that the men are picking up stones, but since I cannot prove it from their movements I must turn to the contextual evidence of related scenes in the Octateuchs.

All the scenes in the Octateuchs which involve the erection of an altar suggest that the completion of the work seems to have been considered more important than the initial stage in its construction (Figs. 17, 18, 19). Indeed, in Vat. 746 and Vatop. 602 the feeling is so strong that even though the illustrated altars contain more than the twelve stones required by the text the building process seems to be still going on. This observation then would suggest that the men in the Roll are not building an altar but picking up the twelve stones—according to Chapter IV, 1-2, or Chapter 8—which are to be used in building the altar at Gilgal. The inscribed text in the Roll which refers to this event includes portions of verses 1-2 and thus confirms my conclusion. If one accepts Weitzmann's contention that the men are building an altar he must reject his conclusion that the inscribed text was introduced in the roll in close collaboration with the artist, for the text flatly contradicts his interpretation of the scene—or the reverse.

But in the face of this difficulty the pictorial evidence of the Octateuchs comes to my support. The upper zone of the double miniature in Vat. 746 (Fig. 17) could be taken as representing merely the Israelites following the ark towards the river according to III, 6. But its location in the series of illustrations associated with the crossing of Jordan and the fragment of the accompanying text shown at the top of the miniature clearly reveals the intention to illustrate Chapter IV, 1-2, which calls for the picking up of the stones from the dry bed of Jordan. The location of the Octateuch men

50. The water under the feet of the priests carrying the ark (Vatop. 602, *Joshua Roll*, fig. 7) may not have been added by the Octateuch artist but like the other features which resemble the Roll may have come from the model of the Roll. See also note 57. The anomalous location of the river personification at the top rather than at the bottom of the scene may be inappropriate in relation to the classical tradition as Weitzmann observes (*Joshua Roll*, 11). But it can be explained as a literal response to verses 15-16 which speak of the

"waters which came from above." The fact that the source of the river is shown in the upper part of the Octateuch illustrations—with or without personifications—suggests that the basic idea existed in the archetype, and it is so shown in the Joshua Mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore (Wilpert, *Mosaiken und Malereien*, III, pl. 23).

51. *Joshua Roll*, pp. 11ff. Strzygowski interpreted the action of the men as picking up stones (*Bilderkreis*, etc., *Byz. Archiv*, Ergänzungsheft, II, 1899, p. 119).



1. Vatican. Joshua Rotulus, Sheet IX, detail



2. Vatican. Joshua Rotulus, Sheet XIII, detail



3. Vatican. Joshua Rotulus, Sheet VII, detail



4. Vatican. Joshua Rotulus, Sheet X, detail



5. Vatican. Cod. gr. 747, fol. 35v



6. Vatican. Joshua Rotulus, Sheet II, detail



7. Vatican. Joshua Rotulus, Sheet 1



8. Vatican. Cod. gr. 747, fol. 217v



9. Vatican. Cod. gr. 746, fol. 442



10. Vatican. Cod. gr. 747,
fol. 221



11. Vatican. Joshua Rotulus, Sheet VI



12. Rome. Santa Maria Maggiore. Mosaic



13. Vatican. Cod. gr. 746, fol. 454v



14. Vatican. Joshua Rotulus, Sheet II



15. Vatican. Cod. gr. 747, fol. 218



16. Vatican. Cod. gr. 747, fol. 219



17. Vatican. Cod. gr. 746, fol. 443v



18. Mt. Athos, Vatopedi. Cod. 602, fol. 345v



19. Vatican. Joshua Rotulus, Sheet III



20. Vatican. Joshua Rotulus, Sheet v



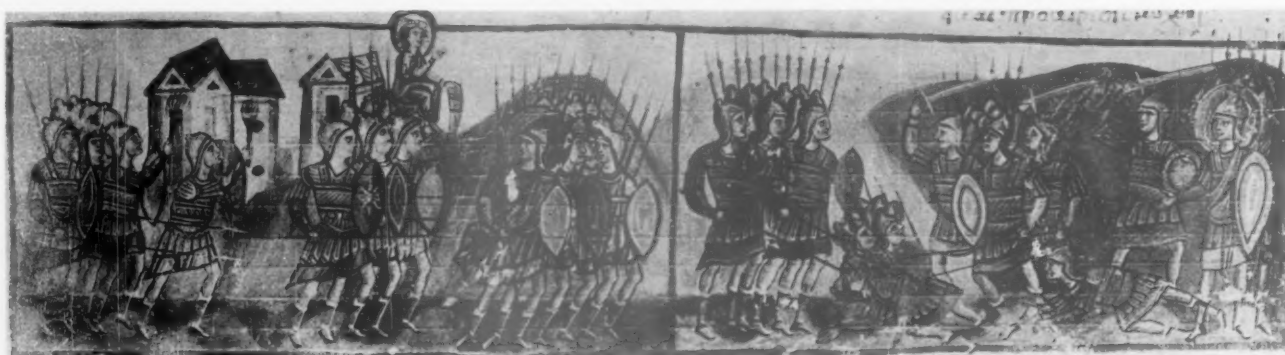
21. Vatican. Cod. gr. 747, fol. 220



22. Vatican. Joshua Rotulus, Sheet x



23. Vatican. Cod. gr. 747, fol. 223



24. Vatican. Cod. gr. 746, fol. 450

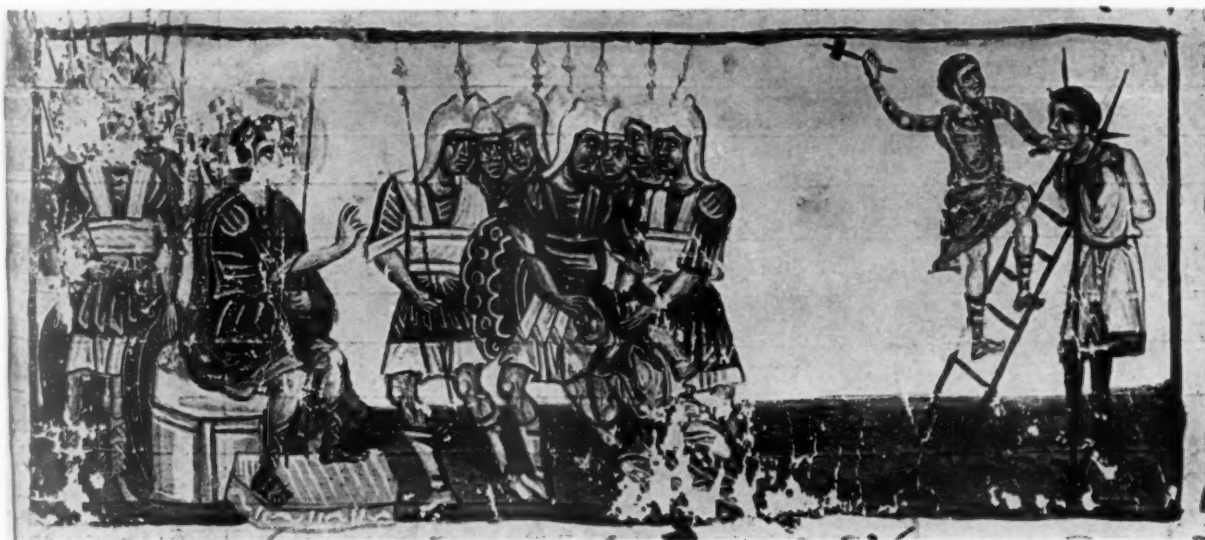


25. Vatican. Joshua Rotulus, Sheet xi



26. Vatican. Cod. gr. 747, fol. 223v

27. Vatican. Cod.
gr. 746, fol. 450v



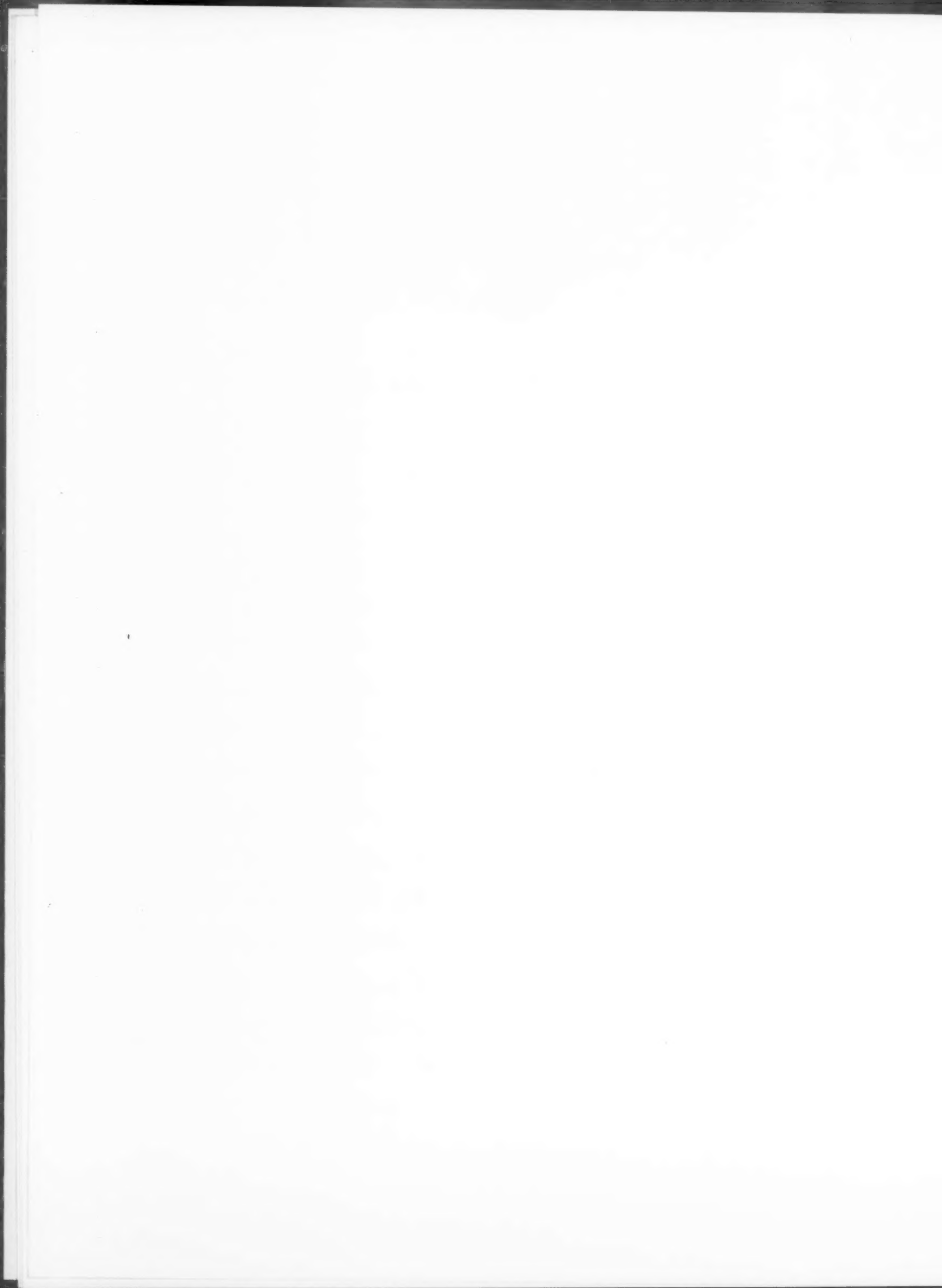
28. Vatican. Cod. gr. 746, fol. 451



29. Vatican. Cod. gr. 747, fol. 223v

30. Vatican. Cod.
gr. 747, fol. 219





behind the ark parallels that of the men in the Roll, but the former neither pick up stones nor do they carry any on their shoulders. Their contextual location implies nevertheless that they are stone bearers. But since both Vat. 746 and the other sister manuscripts omit the stones, we must ascribe the omission to their common model. On the other hand, the parallel group of men in the Vatopedi Octateuch shows unmistakably the stones on the shoulders of the men and confirms both the theory of their erroneous omission in Vat. 746 and the identification of the parallel group in the Roll as stone pickers, or bearers.⁵² The differences between the men in the Roll and those in the Octateuch would imply that the archetype represented them in the varied attitudes preserved in the Roll, but that the Octateuch models kept only the standing men, because they could be more readily stereotyped and more easily drawn. A detail which helps further to confirm the last observation is found in the representation of the four foremost figures in the group of Israelites following the ark in Vat. 746 (Fig. 17). The faces of the first, second, and fourth are turned toward the right whereas that of the third is turned toward the left—precisely as they are disposed in the foremost figures of the standing group in the Roll (Fig. 14).

The corresponding miniature of Vat. 747 does not show any men behind the ark (Fig. 16). Weitzmann conceded the possibility that they were omitted for lack of space, but failed to add this to the many other omissions which would discredit the presumed infallibility of the iconography of Vat. 747.⁵³

Having accepted the interpretation of the Vatican editors concerning the men behind the ark, he thinks that the Roll is utterly corrupt in having transferred the men who were to build the monument, from behind Joshua, to their strange and anachronous position in the middle of the river behind the ark. Had he, however, identified the men behind the ark as stone pickers rather than as builders, and had he read the accompanying text in the Octateuch and the Roll miniatures without preconceived reservations, he would have resolved their mutual contradictions in a relatively easy manner. The two-zone illustrations of Vat. 746 and Vatop. 602 provide part of the answer (Figs. 17, 18).

As was pointed out, the upper zone in the double miniatures of these manuscripts corresponds to the Roll scene showing the priests standing in the middle of the river bed and the picking of the stones by the Israelites from where the feet of the priests stood, in accordance with the Septuagint and the inscribed text. The lower zone represents the erection of an altar in the middle of the river as suggested by the arrested waters on either side of the altars in the two miniatures. In relation to the accompanying text of the Octateuchs the altar built is the one called for by verse 9 of the Septuagint text: "And Joshua set up twelve other stones in the midst of Jordan"⁵⁴—thus specifically distinguishing these from the stones which were to be picked up and carried away to the camping place. The fact that Joshua directs the Israelites to build the altar in the middle of the river rather than build it himself does not contradict the text. Aside from the fact that it does not say that he built it with his own hands, there are many instances throughout the Book of Joshua where acts attributed by the text to Joshua are actually illustrated as carried out by his army or his followers.⁵⁵ The erection of this altar, then, should not be confused with the one built in Gilgal by Joshua and illustrated only in the Roll (Fig. 19). Consequently the altar erected in Vat. 747 (Fig. 30) is meant to represent the same scene as those in the lower zones of Vat. 746 and Vatop. 602 (Figs. 17, 18).

52. Weitzmann's contention that the stone bearers in Vatop. 602 were taken from the Roll rather than from the Octateuch model is not borne out by any significant similarities in iconography or style. Even the marbled pattern of the stones, which seems to Weitzmann an important detail, is not paralleled in the Roll scene.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

54. The Septuagint says unequivocally "twelve other stones" (Henry Barclay Swete [ed.], *The Old Testament in Greek*

According to the Septuagint, 1, Cambridge [Eng.], 1901, p. 426).

55. The text (VIII, 29) says that Joshua hanged the king of Ai but the actual hanging was done by one or two of his men (figs. 34-36). Similarly Chapter X, 26, says that Joshua slew and hanged the five kings but the illustrations in the Roll show that they are killed by their captors (*Joshua Roll*, fig. 45).

Its great similarity to those scenes in the disposition of the various figures leaves no doubt about that identification. What misled Weitzmann⁵⁶ in believing that the Israelites in Vat. 747 had just stepped out of the river and begun to deposit their stones according to his "reading" of the latter part of verse 8, is the apparent omission of the other body of water on the lower right of the miniature. The condition of the miniature on the lower right-hand corner does not permit a clear statement on whether or not another body of water existed there. If it were actually omitted, the omission could be attributed to the habitual carelessness of the Octateuch artist. On the other hand, the peculiarly elongated mound or basin which extends from the extreme right and includes the flaked oval area around the feet of Joshua and stops short of the base of the altar could be interpreted as the other body of water. In any case the close similarity of this scene to that of Vat. 746 (Figs. 17, 30) in which the presence of the other body of the water is not in question would argue that the motif existed in the archetype and the scenes were identical in meaning.

The scene in the Roll showing Joshua building an altar with his own hands at Gilgal (Fig. 19) is unquestionably the one called for by verses 20 and 21, as also confirmed by the inscribed text and by the personification of Mount Gilgal. The structure was to be built with the twelve stones which the Israelites picked from the middle of the river and brought to their camping place in Gilgal. The procession of the stone bearers preceded by the army and Joshua (Fig. 14) need not be misunderstood as "a heterogeneous and seemingly meaningless composition," for the Septuagint text (IV, 11) says: "And it came to pass that all the people passed and then the ark of the Lord and the stones before it"; and verse 12: "And the children of Reuben, and the children of Gad, and half of the tribe of Manasseh, passed over armed before the children of Israel, as Moses spake unto them." From the text and the existing illustration in the Roll it should be easily inferred that the stones were carried by the Children of Israel who picked them from the middle of the river and that they naturally formed part of the expedition which was to camp at Gilgal. The inscribed text under the procession is composed of verses 11 and 12 but closes irrelevantly with verse 13, which speaks of the forty thousand who are to attack Jericho. From this, one cannot conclude that the scribe collaborated very intelligently with the artist. On the contrary it appears that the scribe guessed fairly well the identification of the different groups on the march, but since he seems to have been drawing from a longer text he did not know where to stop and carelessly included verse 13 which could not possibly have been illustrated anachronistically before the building of the altar at Gilgal.

If we now review briefly the meaning of the foregoing episodes in the Roll and the Octateuchs we shall see how they all fall into their respective places quite logically, and, despite minor errors, they suggest that they are neither completely parallel nor mutually exclusive but often complementary. From this, one would conclude that the archetype was more richly illustrated than any of its descendants, each of which, through its own line of descent preserved only a certain number of the archetypal repertory of episodes. We can get a better idea of the state of the archetype if we assemble the various scenes preserved in the miniatures of its descendants and arrange them chronologically in accordance with the internal and external evidence already presented above. First would come the beginning of the expedition toward Jordan as illustrated in the Roll and composed of the Priests carrying the ark, followed by Joshua, his army and the Israelites (Chap. III, 6; Fig. 14). Then the approach to the river symbolized by the priests' dipping their feet in the brim of the water and best represented by Vat. 746 and 747 (Chap. III, 15; Fig. 15). This episode was followed by the miraculous separation of the waters so that the army and the people could cross the river. Vat. 747 (Fig. 16) illustrates only the Priests carrying the ark and standing in the middle of the dry river bed (Chap. III, 17). But the Roll scene contains in addition to the priests and the ark also twelve Israelites picking stones according to Chapter III, 17, and IV, 1-2 or/and 8 (Fig. 14).

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

The same scene is illustrated in the upper zone of the double miniature in Vat. 746 and Vatop. 602, but the act of picking the stones was omitted and only the standing group retained by them (Figs. 17, 18). This event was followed by the building of an altar in the middle of the river "by"—i.e. under the supervision of—Joshua as illustrated in Vat. 747 (Fig. 30) and in the lower zone of the double miniature of Vat. 746 and Vatop. 602 (Chap. iv, 9, Figs. 17, 18). The last episode, like the dipping of the feet, was not illustrated in the Roll. But the Roll contains two other scenes which are not illustrated by the Octateuchs—at least not in as intelligent a manner. These are the carrying of the first set of twelve stones which the twelve Israelites had picked from the spot in the river where the feet of the priests who carried the ark stood firm (Chap. iv, 12; Fig. 14), and their use by Joshua to build another altar at Gilgal as clearly stated by Chapter iv, 20 (Fig. 19). The only Octateuch miniature which approximates the march of the Israelites from the river to Gilgal, carrying with them the twelve stones, is that in the lower zone of the double miniature of Vatop. 602 (Fig. 18). But it is obvious both from the accompanying text, the contextual relation of the marchers to the altar, and to the onlookers, and from the nature of their illustration under the upper zone that the artist intended this miniature to approximate that of Vat. 746 which is similarly located in relation to the upper zone. Thus it appears that except for the omission of the active stone pickers in all the Octateuchs, the stones in Vat. 746, and the erroneous synthesis of borrowed elements in the lower zone of Vatop. 602, there are no serious corruptions of archetypal scenes. In the Roll only two scenes were omitted, and from my interpretation of those which correspond to the inscribed text and to the contextual interpretation of them, there are no serious corruptions at all. But if one must insist on the existence of corruptions, they are to be found in the Octateuchs with the greatest number of omissions in Vat. 747, and not in the Roll.⁵⁷

Now compare what Weitzmann considers parallel representations of the campaign against Jericho in the Roll and Vat. 747 (Figs. 20, 21). He implies that the former is "corrupt" because the city is being burned instead of having its walls collapse at the sound of the trumpets as demanded by the text and as "accurately" represented by Vat. 747.⁵⁸ But he immediately undermines the reader's confidence in the accuracy of Vat. 747 when he asserts that its miniature is probably a condensed version of a fuller archetypal miniature which had more space and represented more civilians behind an army—not a solitary soldier—and a more prominent depiction of the city of Jericho rather than its present diminutive substitute. This admitted impoverishment of the archetypal miniature should have led him to different conclusions about the character of Vat. 747. But he continued to

57. Yet there is a detail in Vatop. 602 which suggests that the Roll may not have been strictly faithful to its model and that it dropped here and there a figure or a detail. On the other hand, the inclusion in the Vatopedi manuscript and the exclusion of the same detail from the Roll and other Octateuchs indicates that Vatop. 602 may not have been derived in part from the Roll but from the model of the Roll. The detail in question is the last figure among the stone bearers in Vat. 602 (Fig. 18) who is in the process of placing the stone upon his shoulder before rising to a vertical position. As Weitzmann pointed out, the group of stone bearers is generally so similar to that in the Roll (Fig. 14) as to lead him to conclude that the Octateuch scene was borrowed and reduced from that of the Roll. But the figure in question does not appear in the Roll miniature and the question arises whether it was invented by the Octateuch artist. As indicated earlier, the relation of the two superposed scenes in the Octateuch and the adjacent text implies that the artist intended the lower miniature to serve for the building of the first altar in the middle of the river. To that end he adjusted his borrowed elements so as to approximate the corresponding scene in Vat. 746. He could have borrowed the figure in question from the actual stone pickers in the Roll so as to record the picking, carrying, and depositing of the stones in building an altar. But the frequent bungling of the Octateuch

artist in his translations of some Roll scenes suggests that he could not adapt such a figure as intelligently as it is represented. Since it does not appear in the other Octateuchs nor in the Roll and yet the whole group bears a fairly close resemblance to the Roll, it seems probable that the whole scene was borrowed from the model of the Roll. This new interpretation would also explain some of the other elements in Vatop. 602 which are at once so similar to the Roll as to suggest their derivation from it and yet sufficiently dissimilar to point to another source much like the Roll. Thus the scroll which the city personification holds in Vatop. 602 (Fig. 21), and which Weitzmann quite reasonably attributed to the misunderstanding of the cornucopia illustrated in the Roll (Fig. 19), can be better explained by the theory of having the scroll "copied" from an older and more indistinct model than the Roll, since the detail in the Vatican manuscript is still easily understood as a cornucopia.

58. *Joshua Roll*, pp. 14, 34. The complexity of Weitzmann's interpretation of this series of episodes and the inherently self-contradictory assumptions in his analysis compel me to avoid a point by point cumbersome criticism of his study. Instead I am presenting the problem independently and will call attention to his views only when they touch upon crucial aspects of the problem.

regard it as a faithful reflection of the archetype and judged the Roll miniatures by reference to it. He identified the solitary soldier behind the ark as a representative of the army that might have been there but failed to realize that the location of that soldier behind the ark is itself a corruption since nowhere in the Septuagint text and its variants is there any reference that the army followed the ark. Only the people are specifically mentioned in verse 13 as following the ark and so represented in the Roll. Obviously the Octateuch or its model misunderstood the people for the army. If one were to add the omission of the rest of the people, Joshua and his army, the killing of the Jerichoans and the burning of their city after its collapse, as represented by the Roll and accounted for by the text (verses 20, 21, 24) he should declare the Roll the more faithful to the archetype. The position of Joshua and the army before the ark and before the trumpeting priests is inconsistent with the order indicated in verse 13 but perfectly logical in relation to verse 6 and consistent with their action in burning the city and killing its inhabitants⁵⁹—as implied also by the inscribed text which consists of extracts from verses 20 and 21. The burning of the city is accounted for by verse 24 but the absence of this portion of the text once more belies Weitzmann's theory that the scribe and the miniaturist collaborated closely with each other. Thus the Septuagint text agrees more with the Roll's rendering of the episodes in the battle of Jericho, both in kind and in the order of their happening. Conversely, the elimination in Vat. 747 of all the episodes appearing in the Roll, the corruption and reduction of the army and the people to two or three figures, and the transformation of the city into a toylike detail discredits completely the theory that the Octateuch reflects the archetype. Indeed, it seems so poor in the series of the episodes that nothing is left that might be offered as a complement to the richer repertory of the Roll miniatures.⁶⁰

More significant evidence that the Roll is more faithful than the Octateuchs to the archetype and that the illustrations of the two lines are probably complementary to each other is found in the sequence of episodes illustrating the campaign against the city of Ai. Beginning with the left side of sheet 10 of the Roll (Fig. 22) and in excellent accord with the Septuagint text one finds the praying Joshua (Chap. VIII, 1-2), the departure of the Israelites (verses 3-4), the army burning the city of Ai (verses 7 or 19); the men of Ai coming out of their city to pursue the Israelites in their feigned retreat (verses 14-17), and below, Joshua directing the pincers movement which resulted in the annihilation of the men of Ai according to verses 21 and 22.

In Vat. 747, however (Fig. 23), the army of Israelites which was sent against Ai, and already illustrated once before in the previous miniature,⁶¹ appears again in the miniature reproduced here but in reduced numbers; then the burning of the city which lies incongruously behind the hills at an inaccessible distance from its incendiary enemies; this is followed by a group of soldiers, who, according to the more intelligible illustration of the Roll and Vat. 746 (Figs. 22, 24) should be the

59. Weitzmann's explanation that the Israelites who are killing the Jerichoans and burning their city were transferred from the battle of Ai—in view of the omission there of a presumably similar motif—is not to be taken seriously. The collapsed walls, the burning of the city, and the killing of the Jerichoans are perfectly consistent with the text. The simultaneous representation of these various acts in no way contradicts the text. The theoretical accuracy of the scene in Vat. 747 has been discredited by Weitzmann's admission that the miniature was a condensed version of the archetypal scene and by the transformation of the people behind the ark into an abbreviated and misplaced army. If the scene had to be condensed and the artist was to make it intelligible, what could he do other than compress the people and the army and reduce the fall and destruction of Jericho to a symbol of the miraculous collapse of the walls as a result of the trumpeting of the priests?

60. His acceptance of the theory of the editors of Rotulus facsimile that the rear group of trumpeting priests in Vatop. 602 and the other Octateuchs was a mistranslation of the group

of Israelites following the ark in the Rotulus (Weitzmann, *Joshua Roll*, p. 16, figs. 13, 17) cannot be accepted. Verses 8 and 9 of the Septuagint imply that the trumpeting priests were divided before and behind the ark and so represented in the Joshua scenes in the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore (Fig. 12 in this study). If the rear group of trumpeting priests in the Octateuchs were the erroneous transformation of the foremost Israelites, we should expect to find not only them but also a group of seven trumpets leading the procession—but it is not so. Furthermore, since the division of the priests appears also in Vat. 746, whose presumed relation to the Roll was rejected as based on unsatisfactory grounds, the motif must have existed in the Octateuch model which lies behind Vat. 746, its sister manuscripts, and Vatop. 602. It is even probable that it existed in the archetype and thus provided one more scene which would complement those existing in the Roll, and reinforce my theory that the archetype had more scenes than any of its existing descendants.

61. *Joshua Roll*, fig. 28.

men of Ai pursuing the Israelites. But since one of the combatant groups is missing from the miniature entirely, it is difficult to say which army the remaining group represents. Next to this group there is a flaked area which might have contained the Israelites lying in ambush, but this is pure conjecture and incompatible with the parallel scenes in the Roll and in Vat. 746.⁶² The miniature ends with the crucial battle, superficially like that of the Roll, with Joshua stretching his arm in token of a fight to the finish (verses 18 and 26), and two groups of soldiers with a few dead between them. Upon closer examination, however, it becomes clear that the two groups are fighting each other and not engaged in the pincers movement against the men of Ai. This deviation from the Roll version is definitely inconsistent with the text and may be explained as a typical simplification and reduction of the archetypal episodes into a generalized battle between the two contending armies. In any case it is clear that the Roll displays so far the fuller and more accurate account which probably existed in the archetype.

The remainder of the campaign against Ai as illustrated in Vat. 747 (Fig. 26) shows Joshua and his guard witnessing a group of his soldiers, one of whom is dragging a man by the collar and shoulders. Vatop. 602, Vat. 746 and its affiliated Octateuchs which contain the corresponding motif, however, show unmistakably that the captive is having his throat cut with a long sword at the hands of his captor (Fig. 27). The similar posture of the victim and the "captor" in both Vat. 747 and 746 led Weitzmann to interpret erroneously the motif in the former as a decapitation. If, as he implies,⁶³ the scene represents a token killing of an inhabitant of Ai, it must be presumably in reference to verses 24-26, which speak repeatedly of felling the men of Ai at the edge of the sword in a "mopping up" campaign. But the divergence in the two representations may be accounted for by another significant reason. Like the second burning of the city of Ai, which terminates the miniature in the Octateuchs, this motif—whether a capture or a decapitation—is missing from the Roll. Weitzmann, therefore, concludes that the Roll is corrupt not only because it lacks the second burning of the city but especially because it seems to have converted the killing of the captive man into the dragging of the king of Ai, and thus duplicating a similar scene below it (Fig. 25). I would grant that the omission of the second burning of the city may reflect technically a corruption but I question the interpretation of the upper dragging motif in the Roll as a conversion of the "killing" episode shown in Vat. 747. The incontrovertible evidence adduced to show that the Roll was not a reworking but a copy of another roll excludes any argument in favor of alterations of that kind. Instead the different representations point to earlier and different "interpretations" of the episode in question.

The second representation of the city may have been omitted by the model of the Roll or may never have existed in the archetype. On the other hand, its presence in the Octateuchs would argue either for its existence in the archetype or its illogical duplication at the end of the battle of Ai by an intermediate model after verse 28: "And Joshua burnt Ai, and made it an heap for ever, even a desolation unto this day." However, from the usual tendency of the Octateuchs to reduce rather than appreciably increase or intelligently complicate the number of episodes in their miniatures I would conclude that the second burning of the city existed in the archetype.

Returning to the identification of the capturing or killing episode one should remind the reader that the capture of the king of Ai and his taking to Joshua are evoked by verse 23, the "mopping up" campaign by 24-26 and the second burning of the city by 28. The sequence of their illustration therefore leaves undetermined the question whether the episode represented is a capture or a kill-

62. *Ibid.*, p. 22. Weitzmann calls the representation of the same scenes in Vat. 746 and its affiliated Octateuchs confused. But he failed to note that Vat. 746 is far more accurate than Vat. 747 in many respects or to explain adequately the differences between the Roll and the Octateuchs, which he thinks derived in part from the Roll.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23. As a result of this interpretation Weitzmann is forced to identify the "decapitated" prisoner in Vat. 747 with the captive king in the upper part of the Roll miniature without realizing the implied absurdity and the resultant discrediting of the Roll artist for whom he has a high regard.

ing, or whether the two miniatures represent two different episodes but similarly composed. If the illustrations of the two Octateuchs were mutually complementary—like those of the Roll and Octateuchs—we could interpret the scene in Vat. 747 as a capture of the King and that of Vat. 746 as the mopping up scene. But the Octateuchs parallel each other in so many different ways and the disposition of most of the figures in these compositions is so similar as to discourage such speculation. Furthermore, if the miniature were meant to represent a mopping up campaign, the intention could have been served better than by a killing of a solitary soldier of Ai—and two Israelites, as suggested by the costume of two other “killed” soldiers represented in Vat. 746 (Fig. 27). Moreover, a mopping up campaign would be a superfluous anticlimax after the wholesale destruction of the enemy illustrated in the previous battle scene (Figs. 22–24). Vat. 747, which is often but not always accurate in its basic iconography, shows the captive with his arms tied behind his back, as in all other representations in the Roll and the Octateuchs where the identity of the king of Ai is indisputable, and suggests that the man in question is the king. Finally the military pomp which accompanies the event—the presence of Joshua, his guard, an inactive army following the captive, etc.—could be justified only by the capture of a royal prisoner. The omission of his royal attributes is not a serious argument against this identification, for neither the Roll nor the Octateuchs are consistently accurate in this respect in their representations of kings.⁶⁴ The most probable explanation of the decapitation motif would be that it is an erroneous alteration of the capture scene by one of the Octateuch models to suggest a mopping up campaign. The archetype is excluded from this aspect of the genealogy since the alteration appears only in Vat. 746, its sister manuscripts, and Vatop. 602, which seem to depend largely upon a common model.

Since the Vat. 747 episode has no parallel in the Roll, one wonders whether the capture scene in the upper zone of the latter (Fig. 25) were complementary to the Octateuch scene (Fig. 26) with the Roll scene representing the first part of verse 23, and that of the Octateuchs the second part: “And the king of Ai they took alive and brought him to Joshua.” In view of other evidence for such complementary relation of the scenes of these manuscripts this is quite probable. The emphasis through repetition upon the extinction of the city of Ai by fire and upon the fate of the prize symbol of that state—its king—would be more important than the repetition of just another battle scene in which a solitary victim was captured or decapitated. It seems then reasonable to suppose that the archetype contained before the second burning of the city the capture of the king in the field as represented by the Roll (Fig. 25) and his presentation to Joshua as shown in Vat. 747 (Fig. 26). From the same circumstantial evidence I conclude that the model of the Roll dropped the second episode and the second incendiary attack against the city. On the other hand, the line of descent which produced Vat. 746 and its affiliated Octateuchs seems first to have dropped the capture motif and later to have converted the presentation of the king to Joshua into a killing motif, possibly in order to avoid the confusing similarity between the presentation episode and the judgment scene which followed after the burning of the city. The possibility of adapting the general composition of the killing motif directly from the judgment scene is excluded because the standing Joshua in the former suggests that the act took place in the field of battle, whereas his judgment of the king from a throne implies the more permanent quarters of the camp. Finally the agreement of both branches of the Octateuch family in representing Joshua in the earlier episode as standing and the general agreement of all Octateuchs in the representation of the judgment scene as a distinct episode directly preceding the hanging of the king confirms my conclusion that the two similar episodes were originally conceived as two separate scenes in a richer repertory which included the capture of the king (upper zone, Fig. 25), his presentation to Joshua while still in the field of battle (Figs. 26, 27), the second burning of the city of Ai (Figs. 26, 27), the judgment of the king, and his execution (Figs. 25, 28, 29).

64. Compare the representations of the king in the Roll (Fig. 25), Vat. 747 (Figs. 26, 29), Vat. 746 (Fig. 28).

The representation of the last episode brings us to still another problem, for the representation of the "execution" in the Roll differs completely from those in the Octateuchs. Verse 29 says "And the king of Ai he hanged on a tree until eventide, and as soon as the sun was down Joshua commanded that they should take his carcass down from the tree, and cast it at the entering of the gate of the city. . . ." The illustrations in the Octateuchs show the king, or rather his body, hanging by the neck from a forked pole while a man on a ladder is hammering at a transverse rod which is meant to hold the head in place by passing behind the neck of the victim and in front of the tines of the furca (Figs. 28, 29). In the Roll the body of the king is suspended in the same way from the furca but in place of the man on the ladder there is one on foot manipulating something—rope, hook, or spear—which is not illustrated (Fig. 25). Weitzmann thinks that this man did not exist in the archetype since he has no parallels in the Octateuchs, and therefore he must have been borrowed from a Longinus figure in a lectionary Crucifixion. He explains the omission of the instrument in his hands as a revival of a chivalrous gesture in the Greek "tradition of battle ethos which avoided the extreme humiliation of the defeated enemy."⁶⁵

I find myself in complete disagreement with both interpretations. The chivalrous gesture could have been more gallant had the hanging been omitted completely rather than omitting only the unknown instrument whose absence has always been taken as evidence that the Roll was copied from another model. The theory of the interpolation of a Longinus figure I find improbable because, as it has been previously demonstrated, the Roll is a copy of another work and precludes such major alterations. But even if such interpolation were possible, there is no stylistic change that would mark the grafting operation. Furthermore, Weitzmann cites no representation of a Longinus which corresponds to the "executioner" nor has he taken into account the fact that the respective movements of the presumed analogous figures are far from identical. Longinus would push diagonally upwards, whereas the Roll figure is pulling diagonally downward. The pulling motion is confirmed by the position of the legs and the articulation of the rest of the body in response to such action. Finally, the hands are so disposed as to suggest that they did not grasp an instrument which had a rigid shaft, such as a spear or a hook, for the axis of each hand is different. My conclusion is that he held a rope which was used in the hanging of the king or in the deposition of his body. The inscribed text under the scene contains only the first sentence of verse 29: "And the king of Ai he hanged on a tree until eventide." This would account for the hanging but would also imply that the body was to be taken down at sundown and disposed of during the same day in accordance with the injunction in Deuteronomy.⁶⁶ But still the question remains whether the man was hanging the king or taking down his body, and what relation does he have to the executioners in the Octateuchs.

The divergent representations of the "executioners" in the Roll and in the Octateuchs may be explained as deriving from two completely different archetypes—which is most unlikely. An alternative interpretation would be that the two branches of the extant descendants preserved two distinct but related episodes—one a hanging and the other a deposition. A third and probably the best explanation would be that the two men in question were jointly represented in the hypothetical richer archetype as a team of two executioners implied by the plural pronoun in the second part of verse 29: "And as soon as the sun was down, Joshua commanded that they should take his carcass down from the tree. . . ." Thus the man on foot would be the man who raised the body by means of a rope to the top of the forked post,⁶⁷ and the other on the ladder the one who hammered the transverse rod behind the neck to hold the body in place. If this interpretation be correct, the resulting complicated relation of the two men, the ladder, and the victim on the furca might have proved

65. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

66. Deuteronomy: XXI, 21-23.

67. The man on the ground might have held the ladder as the editors of the facsimile of the Roll suggest (*Il rotulo di*

Giosuè, p. 30) but the axes of the hands not only fit better the conjectural handling of a rope but this act would also be more important in the hanging or taking down of the body than the holding of a ladder.

too difficult for the descendants of the archetype to copy in its entirety, so the lineage of the Roll retained the man on foot, whereas the Octateuch branch preserved the man on the ladder, and the two branches once more reveal the frequently complementary nature of their illustrated episodes.

The foregoing discussion has demonstrated, I believe, that Weitzmann's theory that the Joshua Roll was an enrichment of a series of Octateuch scenes, like that of Vat. 747, and its transformation into a roll, is untenable. From my comparative analysis of the Vatican Octateuchs and the Roll and from the character of early Christian miniature painting as reflected in the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, the miniatures of the Cotton Genesis and those of the Utrecht Psalter, it seems impossible to agree with Weitzmann that Vat. 747 was a "faithful" reflection of the archetype. On the contrary, it was shown to be a most impoverished work in every respect. Likewise the basis upon which he attempted to make Vat. 746 and its sister manuscripts derivatives of the Roll in order to isolate Vat. 747 for his strange objective was discredited. The many errors in the miniatures of the Roll were shown to be more indicative of a copying process, after another picture-frieze, than of a reworking and enrichment of individual pictures. Likewise the "insertion motifs" and other presumed interpolations which were meant to reveal the extent of the enrichment of the Roll were shown to be based either on an erroneous interpretation of the miniatures of Vat. 747 or upon the unjustifiable affiliation of Vat. 746 with the Roll. Moreover, my detailed analysis of the miniatures of the Roll and the Octateuchs revealed that the Rotulus scenes represented a more accurate and a fuller illustration of the text than any comparable series of episodes in the Octateuchs. From the same analysis was inferred that the episodes illustrated in the Roll are neither completely parallel to those in the Octateuchs nor yet mutually exclusive but frequently complementary, suggesting that the archetype contained a larger repertory of scenes than have survived in any extant descendant. The various descendants seem to have inherited, through their different lines of descent, only a selection of the original series of scenes, and in any attempt to understand the character of each descendant and that of the archetype one must think more of selective and complementary survivals than of divergences through corruption or alteration of superficially similar scenes. In the light of the present limited study, therefore, I think that the origin and character of the Joshua Roll must be completely reexamined in terms of an objective analysis of its miniatures and text in comparison with those of the Octateuchs, those of all other representations of the Septuagint tradition in east and west Christian art, and with the most authentic versions of the Septuagint text.

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1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Cod. gr. 923, fol. 238r

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2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Cod. gr. 923, fol. 237v

AN EARLY ILLUSTRATION OF THE SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS¹

JOHN R. MARTIN

Of the principal iconographic traditions of Byzantine art it is probable that least is known of that of monasticism. Biblical and imperial art, for example, have been, and continue to be, subjects of extensive research, and our knowledge of them has been greatly widened in recent years. Much less has been accomplished for the monastic tradition, which must nonetheless have been a vital one in Byzantine art. As imperial iconography was designed to enhance the power of the emperor, so must the art of the monks have fostered and preserved the ideals of asceticism, frequently in the face of opposition from the imperial authority itself.

The writer has for some time been engaged on a study of scenes of monastic life in Byzantine art. Surprisingly enough, the materials which present themselves for such a study are of relatively late date. Among the most useful are the manuscripts of the *Scala paradisi* of John Climacus; fully illustrated copies of this work, however, do not antedate the eleventh century.² Two codices in particular may be cited here: one in the Library of Princeton University,³ which is dated 1081, and the other in the Vatican Library (cod. gr. 394),⁴ of about the same date. Both are remarkable for their illustrations of monks dwelling in caves, reading, praying, and performing various manual tasks, none of which scenes are directly to be explained by the text itself. Comparable, and in some cases actually identical, scenes make their appearance in monuments of even later date—in the frescoes of the monasteries of Mount Athos,⁵ and in panels such as the *Death of Ephraim* by Tzanfournari in the Vatican Gallery,⁶ works which are to be ascribed to the sixteenth century. In the latter, for instance, are encountered the same caves, and within them hermits applying themselves to the same occupations.

It is safe to conclude that the scenes in these late examples can be traced back to the eleventh century, at which time similar motifs occur in the Climacus manuscripts. But whether the *tradition* of monastic illustration originated still earlier can be determined only after a thorough examination of older sources. Since it appears that there are no early copies of ascetic texts with illustrations, our investigation must be directed toward possible reflections of such illustrations in other contexts; any evidence, however slight, which might indicate the existence of monastic illustration before the eleventh century will have to be carefully considered.

An especially rich fund of Byzantine iconography is contained in a ninth century uncial manuscript in Paris, the *Sacra parallela* of St. John of Damascus (Bibl. Nat., cod. gr. 923).⁷ The book, which is copiously illustrated with marginal miniatures, is of the type known as "florilegium,"

1. Thanks are due to my colleague, Professor Kurt Weitzmann, who drew my attention to the miniatures here discussed, and to Father Anselm Strittmatter, O.S.B., of St. Anselm's Priory, for his aid in dealing with unpublished texts. The photographs are published through the courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

2. On the illustrations of this work, see C. R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, New York, 1914, pp. 1-30. A complete study of Climacus manuscripts is being prepared by the present writer.

3. Formerly in the collection of Robert Garrett, Baltimore. Cf. S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Mediaeval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*,

New York, 1935-40, I, p. 868, no. 16; and A. M. Friend, Jr., in *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, III, 1941-42, pp. 133-135 (with illustrations).

4. R. Devreesse, *Codices vaticani graeci*, Rome, 1937, II, pp. 93f. For illustrations, cf. A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1901-39, II, figs. 343-344.

5. G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos: 1, Les peintures*, Paris, 1927, see especially pls. 150-151, no. 2.

6. A. Muñoz, *I quadri bizantini della Pinacoteca Vaticana*, Rome, 1928, p. 9, pl. 1.

7. H. Bordier, *Descriptions des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1885, pp. 90f.

comprising a series of topics arranged in alphabetical sequence. Under each topic are gathered pertinent excerpts: first, from the Old Testament; next from the New Testament; then from the Church Fathers; and finally, from two Jewish writers, the philosopher Philo Judaeus, and the historian Flavius Josephus.⁸ Thus, to cite a typical example, the letter "I" includes seven topics, of which the first (fol. 208r) is *περὶ ἰσότητος*—concerning equality; beneath this first catchword are grouped sentences on equality from the Psalms, from Matthew and the Epistle to the Romans, from Cyril of Alexandria, and from Philo and Josephus.

To the student of illuminated manuscripts the significance of Paris gr. 923 rests principally in the fact that its miniatures afford evidence for whole cycles of illustrations now lost to us in their original form. As Weitzmann has demonstrated,⁹ the union of text and pictures is in some cases so close that the copying of a portion of text also entails the copying of the pictures associated with it. He cites, for example, illustrations in the Paris *Sacra parallela* to the Biblical books of Chronicles, Jeremiah, Jonah, and Daniel, and to the *Jewish War* and *Jewish Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus. No illustrated copies of these works have survived, but that they must once have existed can be deduced with certainty from the fragmentary cycles in the Paris codex.

Inasmuch as the same manuscript contains numerous excerpts from ascetic literature, it will be useful to examine the pictures accompanying these passages, and to determine, if possible, whether the existence of early monastic illustrations can thereby be postulated.

At first glance, the pictorial evidence is disappointing, for most of the monastic passages are illustrated by nothing more than a standardized bust-portrait of the author.¹⁰ There are, however, certain exceptions. Under the letter "M" of the *Sacra parallela* there is an entire section devoted to monks and asceticism (*περὶ μοναχῶν καὶ τῆς ἀσκήσεως αὐτῶν*), which comprises some twenty-five excerpts.¹¹ Owing to the negligence of the scribe this section has been thoroughly dispersed in the Paris manuscript, so that the component quotations can be reassembled only after a careful examination of the text. The last three excerpts¹² are found, without differentiation, under the title "penitence" (*περὶ μετανοίας*), on fols. 237v-238v, the preceding ones having been omitted altogether. The missing excerpts¹³ (with the proper title *περὶ μοναχῶν*) were added at the end of the volume, on fols. 392r-394v, the copyist evidently having at last discovered his earlier omissions.¹⁴

Two of the text passages "concerning monks" are of particular interest in that they have more elaborate illustrations. The first is drawn from the *De monastica exercitatione* of Abbot Nilus,¹⁵ and is provided with two miniatures (Fig. 1). The upper one shows the author, in monk's habit, seated at a lectern in the act of writing his work; the garments and furniture, and this is characteristic of all miniatures in the manuscript, are gold in color. The lower picture is in reality an illustration, not of Nilus' words, but of a quotation from Proverbs embodied in the text passage: "Take his garment" (Prov., xxvii, 13). It represents Solomon addressing a figure already half disrobed, and below, the same person now totally nude and casting aside his garments. There can be little doubt that the scene is ultimately derived from an illustrated Book of Proverbs. Here again, no such Proverbs cycle has come down to us, but its existence may be inferred from the presence of another picture from that book in Paris gr. 923—a miniature showing clusters of ants and bees.¹⁶ On the other hand, all the remaining excerpts from Nilus in the *Sacra parallela* are without illustration, save for the familiar bust-portraits of the author. With the latter must be grouped the seated figure

8. The edition in Migne, *P.G.*, 95-96, is that prepared by Lequien (1712), which differs in many respects from the recension of Paris gr. 923. For the various recensions see K. Holl, *Die Sacra Parallela des Johannes Damascenus*, Leipzig, 1897.

9. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, Princeton, 1947, pp. 133ff.

10. Such "portraits" make no pretense of giving an accurate likeness, and are indeed essentially repetitions of the same type. The monastic writers thus represented include Cassian (fols. 30r and 74v); Isidore (fol. 266v); Maximus Confessor (fol.

146r); John Climacus (fol. 146r); and Nilus (at least thirty pictures: fols. 45r, 54v, 61r, etc.).

11. Migne, *P.G.*, 96, cols. 176A-181C.

12. *Ibid.*, col. 181B-C.

13. *Ibid.*, cols. 176A-181B.

14. For a more detailed analysis of the disorders in the text, cf. Holl, *Die Sacra Parallela*, pp. 82ff.

15. Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 181B-C.

16. Fol. 198r: "Go to the ant, thou sluggard . . . or go to the bee" (Prov., vi, 6, 8).

of Nilus on the page under discussion, for with few modifications this type is used elsewhere in Paris gr. 923 to represent other writers.¹⁷ Thus far our attempt to discover traces in the *Sacra parallela* of early monastic illustration has produced only a negative result, for it is apparent that the Nilus text used as model, if it was illustrated at all, contained only Biblical scenes.

The second monastic excerpt with which we are concerned bears the title: ΤΟΥ ΑΒΒΑ ΜΩΥΣΕΩΣ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ(Ν) ΑΒΒΑΝ ΠΟΙΜΕΝΑ ΠΕ(ΡΙ) ΑΡΕΤΩ(Ν), which might be translated: "The words of Abbot Moses to Abbot Poimen concerning virtues." Then follow eleven sentences on the things which a monk must do in order to acquire virtue. (This passage, which immediately precedes the excerpt from Nilus, is not included in Migne's edition of the *Sacra parallela*.¹⁸ There can, however, be no doubt that the sentences, by reason of their subject and their location in the manuscript, are meant to form part of the section "on monks.") In the margin are five vignettes (Fig. 2). The first is a medallion portrait of Abbot Moses, which may be dismissed as being merely another in the series of stock images inserted almost at random by the illustrator and in no way differing from the many other pictures of author-monks throughout the manuscript. But it is certain that the four remaining illustrations belong exclusively to the text passage itself and that they have been taken over with it into the Paris codex.

The uppermost figure is a youthful monk, seated and bending assiduously over an open book. This is clearly an illustration of the second sentence, which appears in the text directly opposite: "There are four virtues: silence; keeping the commandments of God; humility; and tribulation."¹⁹ The monk, therefore, quietly peruses the Scriptures, in which God's commandments are set forth. Below him another kneels in prayer, in reference to the fourth sentence: "The mind hath need of these four virtues at every hour: to pray unceasingly, prostrating one's self before God continually in one's heart; to be opposed to the passions; to know one's self to be sinful; and to judge no one. Then are the thoughts at rest."²⁰ The third figure, sitting with hands extended and looking upward, is no doubt meant to accompany the fifth sentence: "These are the four virtues which aid a youthful monk: diligence at all times; wakefulness; willingness in obedience; and not overrating one's self in anything."²¹ The last miniature illustrates the sixth sentence, which reads: "Through four things is the soul corrupted: by walking about in the city and not keeping watch over the eyes; by having any acquaintance whatsoever with women; by having friendship with those who are glorious; and by loving carnal conversations and vain talk."²² The picture shows a wayward monk, seated in a chair, addressing a woman who looks down at him from a tower-like building and whose worldliness is naïvely implied by the earring which she wears. The remaining sentences of the text are without illustration.

Before the significance of these miniatures can be evaluated, it is necessary first to establish the identity of the text which they illustrate. That it is not included in the Lequien-Migne edition of the *Sacra parallela* has already been mentioned. Nor is it likely that the "Abbot Moses" of the title is to be regarded as an author in the usual sense, since his name does not appear as such in the Greek Patrology or in similar patristic collections.

17. Cf., for example, fol. 378v (John of Damascus).

18. It may be noted that the passage occurs in Venice, Marc. gr. 138, a manuscript of the *Sacra parallela* of the same recension as Paris gr. 923 (Holl, *op.cit.*, pp. 78f.).

19. Τέσσαρες ἀρεταί. τὸ σιωπῆσαι. καὶ φυλάξαι τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ. καὶ ἡ ταπεινοφροσύνη. καὶ ἡ στενοχωρία. (The Greek, in this and the following sentences, has been modified so as to conform to the more familiar orthography.)

20. Ὁ νοῦς χρεῖαν ἔχει τὰς τέσσαρας ἀρετὰς ἐν πάσῃ ᾧρᾳ. τὸ συνεχῶς εὐχέσθαι προσπίπτων ἀδιαλείπτως τῷ Θεῷ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἔξιν ἐπὶ τὰ πάθη. καὶ τὸ ἔξιν ἑαυτὸν ἀμαρτωλὸν. καὶ τὸ μὴ κρίναι τινὰ. καὶ τότε ἡσυχάζει ὁ

λογισμός.

21. Τέσσαρες αὐταί εἰσιν αἱ ἀρεταί αἱ βοηθοῦσαι νεωτέρῳ μοναχῷ. ἡ μελέτη ἐν πάσῃ ᾧρᾳ. καὶ ἀγρυπνία. καὶ ἡ ἀσκησία ἐν τῇ ὑπακοῇ. καὶ τὸ μὴ μετρεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τινὶ πράγματι.

22. Διὰ τεσσάρων πραγμάτων ἡ ψυχὴ μαίνεται. τὸ περιπατεῖν ἐν πόλει καὶ μὴ φυλάσσειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς. καὶ τὸ ὅλως ἔχειν γινῶσιν μετὰ γυναικῶν. καὶ τὸ ἔχειν φιλίαν μετὰ τῶν ἐνδόξων. καὶ τὸ ἀγαπῆσαι τὰς σαρκικὰς ὁμιλίας καὶ ματαιολογίας.

The clue to the identification of the text is supplied by two manuscripts in Paris (Bibl. Nat., cod. gr. 914 and 917), both of which contain, among other ascetic writings, two passages bearing the name of Abbot Moses. The first is entitled: "The seven sentences which Abbot Moses sent to Abbot Poemen."²³ The second passage, with the title "Twelve sentences on virtues, by the same,"²⁴ is identical to Abbot Moses' discourse on virtues as it appears in the *Sacra parallela*, with the exception that one sentence (number eight) has been omitted from the latter. It now becomes apparent that there are two passages attributed to Abbot Moses: the first consisting of seven sentences addressed to Poemen, and the second comprising the twelve sentences on virtues. The two related passages have merely been confused: in the process of copying the second set of sentences, both titles have been combined in one (i.e. τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μωϋσέως τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἀββᾶν Ποιμένα περὶ ἀρετῶν).²⁵

Paris gr. 914 and 917 are made up principally of Apophthegmata²⁶—the sayings of the Egyptian Fathers—of which the words of Abbot Moses must form part. The *Apophthegmata patrum* exist in no single recension and have not been critically edited. A vast, loosely organized body of anecdotes and aphorisms, they constitute a record, half historical, half legendary, of one of the most remarkable episodes of early Christianity. The very complex evolution of the Apophthegmata has been treated briefly by Dom Butler²⁷ and in a comprehensive monograph by Bousset.²⁸ These scholars have shown that the sayings first came into being as anecdotes among the Fathers of the desert in the late fourth century, and that they were gradually sorted into groups, a process which continued until the sixth century. Collections of Apophthegmata, of varying scope and content, are known in Greek,²⁹ Latin,³⁰ Syriac,³¹ and other tongues. Always popular, the Apophthegmata were later drawn upon extensively by Jacobus de Voragine in his *Legenda aurea*, and by Domenico Cavalca in his *Vite de' Santi Padri*.

The Syriac version, compiled by the seventh century monk Ânân-Îshô, contains both the passages attributed to Abbot Moses.³² The seven sentences addressed to Poemen occur intact in both Latin and Greek collections;³³ but the twelve sentences on virtues (with which we are primarily concerned) are to be found in none of the Greek sayings thus far published,³⁴ and exist only as scattered fragments among the Latin Apophthegmata edited by Rosweyde.³⁵

That Abbot Moses is no mere figment of the monastic imagination, but a genuine personage, is beyond doubt; Butler terms him "one of the most striking and spiritual figures of the desert."³⁶ Palladius, who devotes a chapter to him in his *Lausiac History*, relates that he had formerly been a bandit.³⁷ There is even a personal description of Abbot Moses, who was an Ethiopian, in one of the sayings: "An old man, tall and black, wearing ancient garments."³⁸ This description, incidentally, serves to confirm that the picture in Paris gr. 923 (Fig. 2) which represents him as light-skinned, is not a genuine portrait.³⁹

23. Ἐπὶ κεφάλαια ἃ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Μωϋσῆς τῷ ἀββᾷ Ποιμένι (Paris gr. 914, fol. 171r; Paris gr. 917, fol. 107r).

24. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ ἀρετῶν κεφάλαια δώδεκα (Paris gr. 914, fol. 172r; Paris gr. 917, fol. 108r).

25. A similar title is found in Venice, Marc. gr. 138 (Holl, *Die Sacra Parallela*, p. 79; cf. note 18 *supra*).

26. Neither manuscript has been published, to my knowledge, but lists of contents are given by H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1886-98, I, pp. 174f.

27. C. Butler, *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, Cambridge, 1898-1904, I, pp. 208ff.

28. W. Bousset, *Apophthegmata: Studien zur Geschichte des ältesten Mönchtums*, Tübingen, 1923.

29. Migne, *P.G.*, 65, cols. 72ff. (*Apophthegmata patrum*, ed. by Cotelier). Others have been published by F. Nau in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, VII, 1902, pp. 604-617; VIII, 1903, pp. 91-100; X, 1905, pp. 409-414; XII, 1907, pp. 48-68, 171-181, 393-404; XIII, 1908, pp. 47-57, 266-283.

30. Migne, *P.L.*, 73, cols. 739-810, 855-1062 (*Vitae patrum*, III, v, vi, and vii).

31. E. Wallis Budge, *The Paradise of the Holy Fathers*, London, 1907, two volumes (a translation from the Syriac version).

32. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 180, nos. 119ff.; pp. 277f., no. 601.

33. Migne, *P.L.*, 73, cols. 1014C-1015A; *P.G.*, 65, col. 288.

34. Isolated sentences, however, are quoted in the *Capita theologica* of Maximus Confessor, with the notation ἐκ τῶν πατέρων (*idem*, *P.G.*, 91, cols. 728A, 740B, 840A, 852C), and even appear among the writings of the fifth century author Abbot Isaiah (*idem*, *P.G.*, 40, cols. 1127, 1205B).

35. E.g. *idem*, *P.L.*, 73, cols. 803C, 1053C (sentence 2); col. 1054A (sentence 6).

36. Butler, *Lausiac History*, II, p. 198.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 58ff.

38. Γέρων, παλαιὰ φορῶν, μακρὸς καὶ μελανός (Migne, *P.G.*, 65, col. 285B; cf. also *P.L.*, 73, col. 783A).

39. There is a more accurate representation of Abbot Moses in a fresco of the refectory of the Laura on Mt. Athos, where

It is by no means inconceivable that the Sayings of the Fathers were illustrated in complete cyclic fashion. Important evidence on this point is supplied by a Coptic manuscript of the Apophthegmata in Naples (Bibl. Naz., cod. 484), probably of the eleventh century.⁴⁰ The text is fragmentary, but enough remains to show that it is virtually identical in arrangement with one of the Latin collections.⁴¹ There are two miniatures, each representing an aged monk with a nimbus, standing frontally in orant posture. The first is inscribed "Abbot Dulas," evidently in illustration of the text passage immediately following, which relates an anecdote concerning a monk of that name.⁴² The second figure merely bears the inscription "old man praying,"⁴³ and is presumably a picture of the anonymous Father described in the adjacent text. No attempt has been made to give a pictorial rendering of the narrative, the artist having been content in each case to draw a single figure in a stereotyped pose. Yet these two miniatures may reflect, in feeble and provincial fashion, an older tradition of more elaborate character.

Equally important, although even later, is an Armenian manuscript of the year 1615 in the British Museum (Add. 27301), containing Apophthegmata and lives of hermits.⁴⁴ There are twenty-two miniatures,⁴⁵ some of which are certainly illustrations of Sayings of the Fathers. Here again we must reckon with the possibility that a manuscript not of Greek origin may offer evidence of an early Byzantine picture cycle. There is only one other example known to me of an illustration from the Sayings. This is a fresco in the refectory of the Laura on Mt. Athos,⁴⁶ which depicts an anecdote preserved in both Latin and Syriac recensions.⁴⁷

The foregoing discussion exemplifies the method which must be followed in studying the beginnings of the monastic tradition in Byzantine art. Much has been lost, and the evidences of early activity in this field must be sought in chance survivals in other contexts. Our examination of Paris gr. 923 has revealed that, of the ascetic literature quoted therein, only one text—the *Apophthegmata patrum*—can conclusively be shown to have been illustrated. This fact may lead us to imagine that compilations of the Sayings of the Fathers, perhaps with other ascetic writings, were provided with very extensive pictorial cycles: such illustrations, moreover, may yet be found to be the source of the scenes of anchorites in the Climacus manuscripts and related monuments. But this is mere hypothesis, which may be confirmed or disproven only after further research. What is certain is that the unpretentious miniatures of the Apophthegmata in Paris gr. 923 are of some importance to the history of monastic art: they establish beyond question that ascetic literature was illustrated at least as early as the ninth century, and perhaps even in the pre-iconoclastic era.

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he appears as dark-complexioned (Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, pl. 147, no. 2).

40. Formerly Borgia 169. G. Zoega, *Catalogus codicum copticorum manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, Rome, 1810, pp. 287ff.; H. Buchthal and O. Kurz, *A Hand List of Illuminated Oriental Christian Manuscripts*, London, 1942, p. 45.

41. Migne, *P.L.*, 73, cols. 855-1022.

42. Zoega, *op.cit.*, pp. 287 and 336.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 287 and 343, pl. VII; H. Hyvernât, *Album de paléographie copte*, Paris and Rome, 1888, pl. VII, no. 3.

44. F. C. Conybeare, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts of the British Museum*, London, 1913, pp. 209ff.

45. The manuscript was very kindly brought to my notice by Miss Sirarpie Der Nersessian, who plans at a later time to publish its miniatures. For illustrations, cf. A. Tchobanian, *La roseraie d'Arménie*, III, Paris, 1929, pp. 52, 55, 89, 91, and 140.

46. Millet, *op.cit.*, pl. 150, no. 2.

47. Migne, *op.cit.*, cols. 1011D-1012C; Budge, *The Paradise of the Holy Fathers*, II, pp. 153-155.

PROVINCIAL ROMAN ENAMELS RECENTLY ACQUIRED BY THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART*

WILLIAM H. FORSYTH

IN 1947 the Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired from the estate of Joseph Brummer four enameled objects of extraordinary interest. Since they form the most important group of provincial Roman enamels to enter an American public collection, they deserve recognition both for this and for the light they throw on the development of early European enameling.¹

Of the four enamels to be discussed, one is already famous and the others are still almost unknown. All of them are outstanding both in quality and size. The purpose of this paper is to describe them, compare them with similar enamels, and trace their origin to western Europe.

First, it will be helpful to refer briefly to the enameled fibulae. The distribution of their finds are clues to the location of ateliers which may also have produced the four larger enamel vessels. The great number of fibulae and the terminal dates given by some of the finds also provide clues to the dating of the larger objects.

While enameled fibulae are found in graves throughout the outer reaches of the Roman world from Britain² to the Caucasus³ and Syria,⁴ the largest concentration of the finds and the greatest numbers of these fibulae are centered in Belgium,⁵ between the Sambre and the Meuse, and in the Rhineland.⁶ At the Villa Anthée near Namur actual remains of flourishing enamel and metal workshops have been uncovered, and suggest that this provincial Roman villa supplied a great part of the enamels for the region.⁷ There may have been similar workshops also at Mainz, Trier, and Cologne.⁸ Numerous finds have also been made in northern France.⁹ In the Danubian provinces¹⁰ and in southern Russia the finds are fewer, but are similar to those in the west.

* Mr. Francis W. Robinson of the Detroit Institute of Arts has greatly aided this study by very generously loaning the extensive catalogue notes and bibliography on glass and enamels of this period which he has been making for many years. My thanks are also due to him and to Professor W. Frederick Stohlman of Princeton for the loan of photographs. The photographs for Figs. 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 15 are reproduced through the courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Figs. 9, 16, 17, and 18, through the courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum; and Fig. 6, through the courtesy of the Musée Archéologique, Namur; Fig. 14 through the courtesy of the Museum of National Antiquities and the Council of Humanities, Princeton University. The copyright for Fig. 2 is held by Haus der Rhein. Heimat (Bildarchiv), Cologne, and for Fig. 3 by R. S. Ulatowski, Poznań.

1. The battle over the ultimate origins of enameling has been going on for over a century and the issue is not yet decided. This paper is not concerned with this fundamental problem.

2. Françoise Henry, "Émailleurs d'occident," *Préhistoire*, Paris, 1933, II, fasc. 1, p. 139; R. A. Smith, *A Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain*, British Museum, 1922, pp. 59, 60; R. G. Collingwood, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, New York, 1930, pp. 243-260.

3. Ernest Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans le Caucase*, Paris, 1887, II, no. 7, pls. XIX (color), XX, pp. 99-104; Countess Uvarov, "The Tombs of the Northern Caucasus," *Materials on the Archaeology of the Caucasus* (in Russian), Moscow, 1900, VIII, pl. CXXVI (color); M. K. Tenishev,

Enamel and Incrustation (in Russian), Prague, 1930.

4. N. P. Toll, "Enameled Bronzes," *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report*, IV, part IV, fasc. 1, New Haven, 1949, pp. 35-43, pls. VIII, IX. Toll favors a western origin with only sporadic local imitation.

5. A. Bequet, "La bijouterie chez les Belges sous l'empire romain (IIe siècle)," *Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur*, XXIV, 1900, pp. 262-276 (two colored plates); J. Pilloy, "L'émaillerie aux IIe et IIIe siècles," *Bulletin archéologique*, 1895, pp. 232-244, pl. 10 (color).

6. Kurt Exner, "Die provinzialrömischen Emailfibeln der Rheinlande" (Diss. Bonn under R. Delbrueck), 29. *Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission* 1939, Berlin, 1941, pp. 31-121, many illustrations (excellent typological study); Ludwig Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Mainz, 1864-89.

7. See note 5.

8. Exner, "Emailfibeln," pp. 40-42, 44. Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 123, points out that there is not the clear evidence for the location of these Rhenish workshops as for Anthée.

9. Morin-Jean, "Les fibules de la Gaul romaine," *Congrès préhistorique de Tours*, 1910, pp. 803-836; Pilloy, *op.cit.*

10. I. Sellye, *Les bronzes émaillés de la Pannonie romaine* (Dissertationes Pannonicae, ser. 2, fasc. 8), Budapest, 1939, favors a western origin (see *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 277-278 for Toll's review of this book); Hans Tietze, *Die Denkmäler der Stadt Wien* (XI-XXI. Bezirk), Österreichische Kunsttopographie, Vienna, 1908, II, pp. 264ff.

The arguments for favoring a western source for most of the fibulae are: the greater number found in the west, the unique discovery of an important enamel atelier at Villa Anthée, and the fame of Gaul and the Rhineland as a producer of similar wares, terra sigillata, metalwork, and glass which were widely exported throughout the empire and undoubtedly included enamelware. The legionaries who used these enamel fibulae must have had an important part in distributing them as they traveled from post to post along the frontiers. The importance of the western enamel workshops has been stressed by Mlle. Françoise Henry in the most comprehensive and well-balanced study of the subject to date.¹¹

However, it certainly cannot be assumed that all the fibulae found in the east were made in the west, especially since certain processes of enameling had long been known in the east and probably originated there. Sometimes there are minor differences in color between some of the Caucasian fibulae and those found in western Europe.¹² Furthermore, since there were standard types of fibulae (perhaps created by the military), they were undoubtedly reproduced in a number of places. Toll has drawn attention to a crude cast found at Dura-Europos (Syria) and dating from the Roman occupation, which was evidently an attempt at reproducing an enameled seal-box or locket.¹³

The finds suggest that the enameled fibulae were worn both by the Roman legionaries and by some of the native population of the border provinces.¹⁴ It seems logical to assume that the same people who wore the enameled fibulae were also the ones to use the larger enameled vessels.

I

The larger enamel pieces are fewer in number, more evenly distributed, and consequently harder to localize than the fibulae. The first of the enamels to be considered is a bronze pyx decorated with mosaic or millefiori enamel (Figs. 1 and 4).¹⁵ Millefiori enameling had great success in Gaul where it was often used in decorating fibulae and other objects. Mlle. Henry suggests that there is some evidence that millefiori glass may have been first applied to metal as enameling in Gaul not long after the Roman conquest.¹⁶ The introduction of glass factories into Gaul,¹⁷ their spread northward and eastward¹⁸ and then to the Rhine¹⁹ must have brought the knowledge and use of millefiori glass from Italy and Alexandria into those regions which were to become famous for their enamel. The millefiori glass rods from which the enamel was made could have been imported from Italy and Alexandria.²⁰

Millefiori is not a true champlevé enamel (i.e. enamel made from a finely ground vitreous powder fired until completely melted and thus fused to its metal background) but rather consists of rods of different colors fused together and cut into cross-sections to form millefiori patterns. These thin cross-sections are placed on the metal base, either side by side or set at intervals in an enamel powder, and then heated sufficiently for them to adhere to their base and to each other without being dissolved and so losing their flower and mosaic patterns.²¹

The millefiori enamel pyx was probably once in French hands, for it was bought by Brummer in

11. Françoise Henry, "Émailleurs d'occident," *Préhistoire*, Paris, 1933, II, fasc. 1, pp. 65-146, with many illustrations.

12. The observation that the Caucasian pieces had strong coloring seems to be borne out by a disk fibula in the Metropolitan Museum from Olbia (Acc. no. 22.50.13) whose greens and reds are unusually vivid.

13. Toll, *Dura-Europos*, pp. 42, 43.

14. Exner, "Emailfibeln," pp. 45, 46; Toll, *A.J.A.*, p. 278; Henry, *op.cit.*, pp. 135, 139.

15. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Acc. no. 47.100.7. Ht. 2 3/8 in. (0^m061), width 2 1/16 in. (0^m053), depth of enamel ca. 1 mm. Areas of enamel on top panel and on side panels are missing. Some discoloration of enamels on side

panels. Bronze corroded in a number of places.

16. Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 128, fig. 1, 3.

17. Morin-Jean, "Vitrum" in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, IV, pp. 941ff.; Morin-Jean, *La verrerie en Gaule sous l'empire romain*, Paris, 1913.

18. Morin-Jean, *Verrerie*, pp. 13-15.

19. Exner, "Emailfibeln," p. 44, for Cologne and the Meuse.

20. Morin-Jean, "Vitrum," p. 949.

21. Henry, *op.cit.*, pp. 67, 69. The older theory that millefiori enameling was made by cutting out infinitely small areas of enamel background and inserting different mosaics of enamel is too fantastic to need refutation.

Paris, and on the back side of a loose panel is a French label marked "18630 / 8 pièces / 12 / VASS." The label implies that the pyx had fallen apart. That the top, the bottom, and the six sides were reassembled in modern times can be seen by two modern copper plates, one between the cover and the sides, the other between the base and the sides. Two of the three feet are modern and are attached to modern screws which run up through the inside of the pyx to hold it together. The pyx was probably once soldered together, but, as Professor Earle Caley has pointed out, solder on ancient objects often disintegrates. If the pyx had loops for suspension on the three alternate corners of the top, as have other similar enamel pyxides, they are missing today. However, these three corners are thicker than the other three corners, perhaps to support such loops, and one of them shows traces of corrosion and rust different from the greenish patina over the rest of the box. Another corner has a hole, possibly made in repairing one of the loop attachments. The pyx may have held ink, or possibly incense, unguents, or perfume.²² The sides and the top of the pyx are decorated with mosaic and millefiori enamel, in red, white, blue, and green.²³

The pyx belongs to a group of other pyxides all found in western Europe and all probably from the same workshop. In type of enameling and in general design it is very like a pyx found in the neighborhood of Cologne and now in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum (Fig. 2),²⁴ and also very like three side panels of a lost pyx from a tomb in the department of the Pas-de-Calais and now in the French Museum of National Antiquities at St.-Germain-en-Laye.²⁵ The system of decoration is identical in all three, with only slight variations in color and pattern.²⁶

The central zones of the side panels are composed of four squares of enamel mosaic, usually sixteen sections to a square in alternating colors like a checkerboard. All three pyxides of this checkerboard group have two slightly different sets of side panels arranged in alternate sequence to relieve the monotony of a uniform pattern without breaking the unity of the general design.

The two complete boxes in the group (New York and Cologne) both have three concentric rings around the top. The Cologne pyx has a lid with two projections on its underside which are inserted into two breaks in the top of the box. The lid is then secured by turning, like the cover of a teapot. The New York pyx has two similar breaks—one can therefore assume a similar lid (Fig. 4). The bottom plaques of both pyxides are decorated with concentric rings like those on late Roman silver plates.

A millefiori hexagonal enamel bucket in the Brescia Museum is enough like this checkerboard group in color, technique, size, and style to be associated with it.²⁷ It was found in a tomb at Forcello, a suburb of Brescia.

Another group of millefiori enamel pyxides is distinguished from the checkerboard group by its enamel decoration (Fig. 3). Instead of horizontal bands of ornament above and below a checkerboard pattern, there are semicircular lunettes above and below three vertical sections of millefiori enamel. Another difference between the two groups is the method by which the side panels are attached to each other. In the checkerboard group the edges of these panels are beveled, whereas in the second

22. M. Rostovtzeff, "Une trouvaille de l'époque gréco-sarmate," *Monuments Piot*, Paris, 1923, XXVI, pp. 99ff.; F. Fremersdorf, *Kurzer Führer durch die römische Abteilung des Wallraf-Richartz Museums zu Köln*, Cologne, 1927, p. 45.

23. The sides: top, horizontal bands of blue, red, and white, the first and third bands set with rosettes, the second band with mosaic squares; bottom, horizontal bands of white, red, and blue; middle zone, (on three sides) four squares, each composed of sixteen smaller squares of solid blue alternating with mosaics of blue and white set in a red field, and (on three sides) smaller squares of solid blue alternating with mosaics of blue and white set in a green field. The top: concentric rings of white, red, and blue enamel, the first and third rings set with rosettes and the second ring with mosaic squares. Mlle. Henry calls this "tricolor millefiori" typical of Belgian workshops (*op.cit.*, pp. 131, 139).

24. Inv. 1501 (Acc. cat.) 9612. Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 139, fig. 42,4; Fremersdorf, *op.cit.*, pp. 44-45.

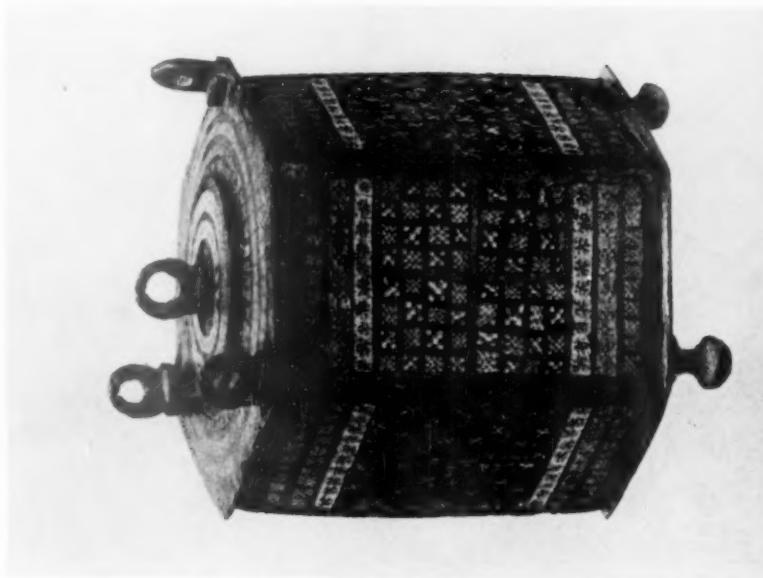
25. Inv. 10918. Three side panels were all that were found. Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 139, fig. 41,3; Rostovtzeff, *op.cit.*, pp. 123, 127 n. 1.

26. The New York pyx has fewer subdivisions within the mosaic enamel squares than any of the other pyxides and it also is the only one to have enamel squares of a solid color. It does not have the St. Andrew's cross type of mosaic enameling used on the other pieces.

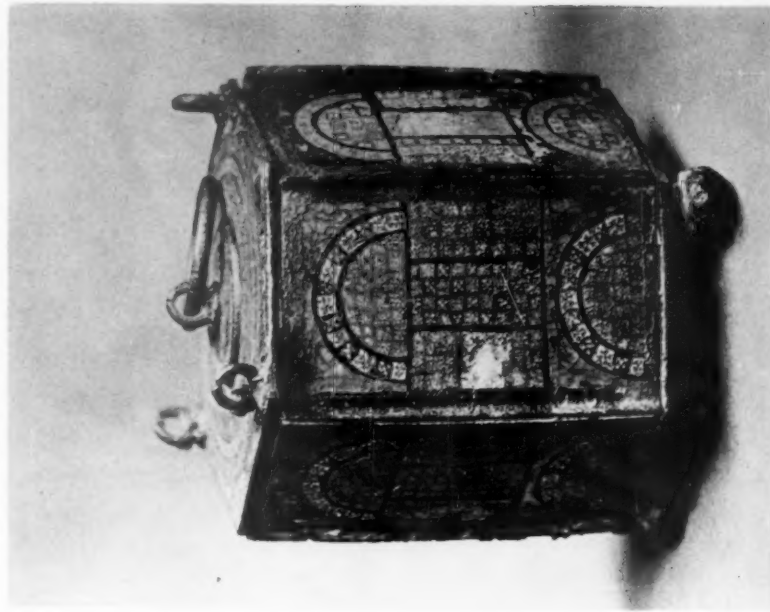
27. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1902, II, pp. 60, 62, fig. 68. Perhaps it should also be noted that the largest millefiori enamel object yet found comes from western Europe. It is a mount from Geinsheim in the Speyer Museum. See Henry, *op.cit.*, fig. 33.



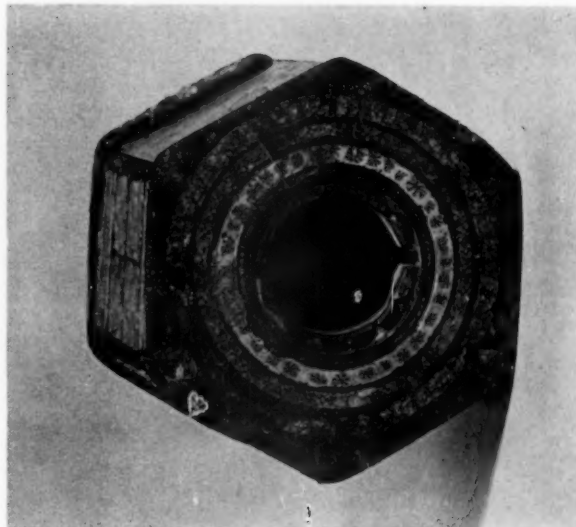
1. New York, Metropolitan Museum. Millefiori and mosaic enamel pyx



2. Cologne, Römisches-Germanisches Museum. Millefiori and mosaic enamel pyx



3. Castle Goluchew, Poland, Czartoryski collection. Millefiori and mosaic enamel pyx



4. Top of pyx in Figure 1



5. New York, Metropolitan Museum. Champlevé enamel cup from Rochefort (Jura)



6. Namur, Musée Archéologique. Champlevé enamel cup from La Plante



7. New York, Metropolitan Museum. Champlévé enamel mount



8. Top view of mount in Figure 7



9. London, British Museum. Champlévé enamel cup from Benevento



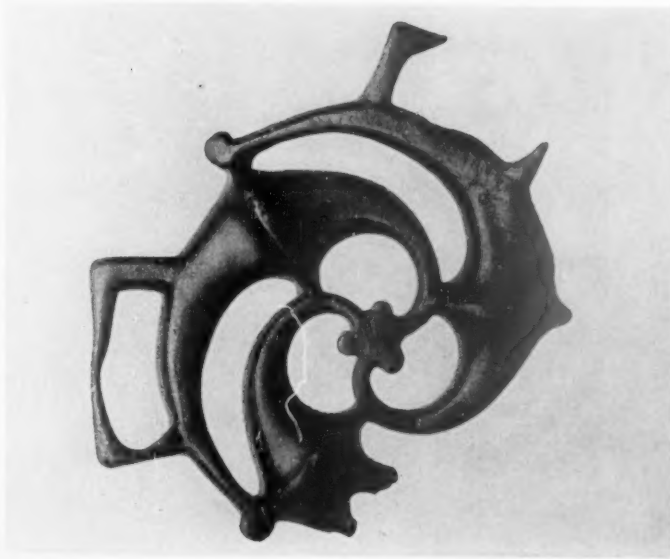
10. New York, Metropolitan Museum. Champlevé enamel vessel from La Guierche



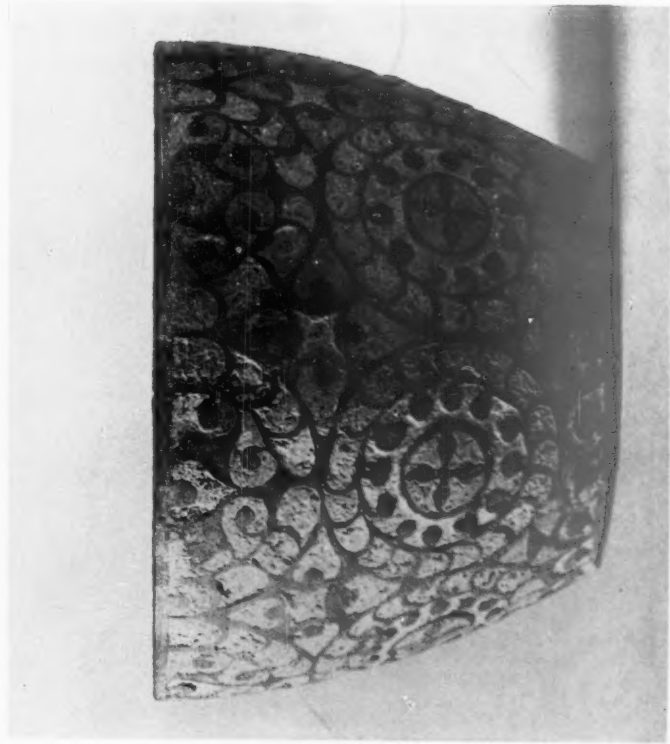
11. Top of vessel in Figure 10



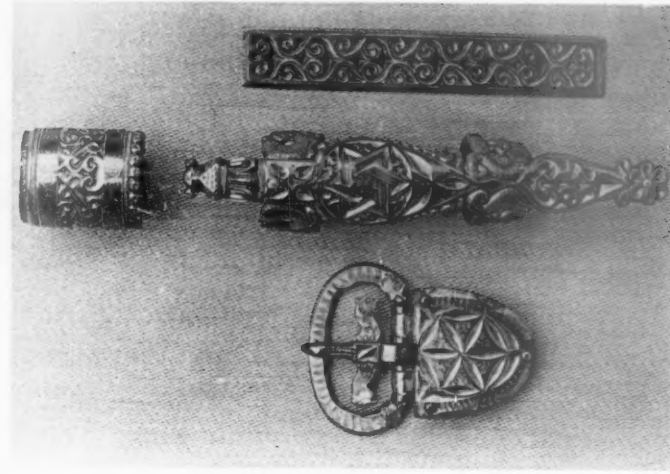
12. Bottom of vessel in Figure 10



13. New York, Metropolitan Museum (lent by Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Martin, Guennol coll.).
Bronze mount



14. St.-Germain-en-Laye, Museum of National Antiquities. Champlévé
enamel vessel



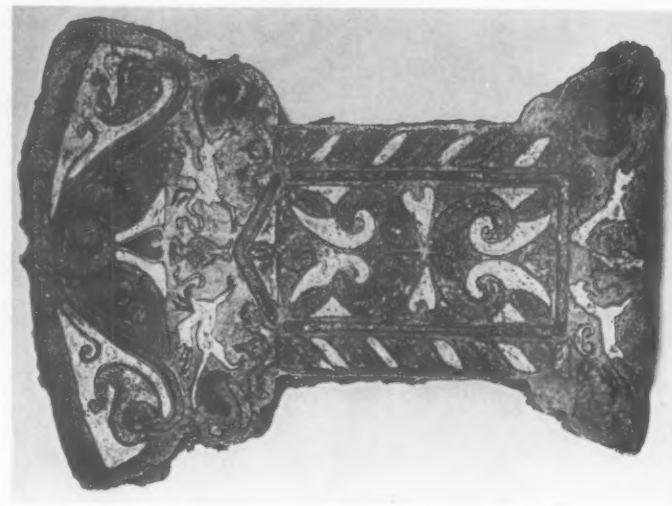
15. New York, Metropolitan Museum. Spear
mounts from Vermand



16. London, British Museum. Vessel from
Ambleteuse



17. Bottom of vessel in Figure 16



18. London, British Museum. Champlévé enamel
plaque from the Thames

or lunette group they are angled forward to form projecting flanges by which the panels could more easily be fastened together.

At first glance these differences may seem significant enough to assume an eastern European origin for the lunette group, since all three pieces are, or were, in eastern European collections. They are:

(1) A pyx from the Messaksoudi collection, found in a tomb of a "warrior horseman" in Kertch in the Crimea and now at St.-Germain.²⁸

(2) A pyx before the war in the collection of Prince Czartoryski (formerly in the collection of Countess Djialynska, née Czartoryska) at Castle Goluchew in Poland (Fig. 3).²⁹

(3) A side panel from a lost pyx from Sadoria-Steinamanger in western Hungary and now in the Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie, Vienna.³⁰

However, there are strong reasons for reserving judgment on an eastern attribution for the second group. In the first place the flange method of attachment is seen on at least three other enamels found in western Europe:

(1) The enameled bucket in Brescia.³¹

(2) An hexagonal flask in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn.³²

(3) A fragment of a similar flask from Silchester, in the Reading Museum, England.³³

Since the Bonn and Reading enamels are completely different in style and technique from either group of millefiori pyxides and since the Brescia bucket has been related to the checkerboard group, one cannot assume that flanges are a distinguishing peculiarity of the lunette group, or indeed of any group, and one can certainly not assume that they are an indication of eastern origin—but quite the contrary.

Indeed, it seems just as likely that at least two of the lunette group originally came from the west. The Polish pyx was formerly in the collection of Countess Djialynska, who spent much of her life in Paris, where she and her husband each assembled a distinguished collection at the Hotel Lambert.³⁴ It was only after his death in 1880 that she moved the collections to Castle Goluchew, Poland. A few of the pieces at Goluchew come from the Crimea. However, the Countess is reported by de Ricci to have "purchased some of the finest [Merovingian] jewels from Marchélepot near Amiens," and she might also have acquired the pyx from the same region in northern France or Belgium, where so many millefiori enamels have been found.³⁵

The Kertch pyx may also have come from the west. It was found in a tomb containing Roman as well as eastern objects. Rostovtzeff pointed out that the Romans had military bases in south Russia; he was convinced that the pyx was a western importation.³⁶ If these two pieces can be tied to a western origin, the third fragment of the group in Vienna can be likewise.

The differences between the checkerboard and the lunette group should not be exaggerated. They could be explained by differences between workshops in the same region. The two groups have many points in common—their size; their colors; and many of their patterns, which are typical of mille-

28. Inv. no. 66112. Acquired in 1920. Rostovtzeff, *op.cit.*, pp. 122-127, 161, 162, pl. v in color, indicates two different types of side panels, as in the checkerboard group.

29. Molinier, *L'émaillerie*, Paris, 1891, p. 19 (drawing); Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 139, fig. 42,2.

30. H. Tietze, *Die Denkmäler der Stadt Wien (XI-XXI. Bezirk)*, Österreichische Kunsttopographie, II, Vienna, 1908, pp. 276-277, pl. XXIII; Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 139, fig. 42,3. The flanges are missing from this loose plaque.

31. See note 27.

32. Henry, *op.cit.*, plate opposite p. 142.

33. Henry, *op.cit.*, fig. 46,2.

34. J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, Oxford, 1928,

p. vii and notes. The Paris dealer who sold the New York pyx to Brummer said that it, too, came from "a private collection, probably that of Dzialynska."

35. Seymour de Ricci, *Catalogue of the Merovingian Antiquities Belonging to J. Pierpont Morgan*, Paris, 1910, p. iii. W. Froehner, *Collections du Château de Goluchów*, Paris, 1897, I. *L'orfèvrerie antique*, notes a number of pieces from Marchélepot and other sites in Picardy as well as a few Gothic fibulae from south Russia.

36. Rostovtzeff, *op.cit.*, pp. 126, 127.

37. Henry, *op.cit.*, fig. 35, 13-15; Exner, "Emailfibeln," pl. 14,6, p. 107.

fiori enameling found in Belgium, northern France, and the Rhineland;³⁷ and their general form and construction, including their lids, their suspension rings, and their feet.

To summarize, the checkerboard group of pyxides to which the New York piece belongs is localized in the west. Two of them are known to have come from the northern part of Gaul and from the Rhineland, and we can assume that the third, because it closely resembles the first two, and because it was bought in France, also has a western origin. The lunette group, too, may well come from the west. Whether one or both of the groups were made at the Villa Anthée³⁸ or at some other center, it is of course impossible to say.

Finally, there is the question of the dating. It seems likely that the millefiori fibulae were first made at an earlier date than the pyxides because of their smaller size and simpler construction. Indeed, the lunette group may well be derived from the millefiori disk fibulae.³⁹ The Belgian enameled fibulae are dated in the second and third centuries;⁴⁰ and on the basis of dated finds in the Rhineland, Exner places millefiori disk fibulae there in the first part of the third century.⁴¹ Mlle. Henry cites a fibula found in England with a coin of Antoninus Pius (d. 161).⁴² Because of the technical difficulties overcome in enameling so (comparatively) large and unbroken a surface, she concludes that this fibula is an immediate forerunner of the pyxides, which she dates in the late second or early third century.⁴³ Exner by implication agrees with her.⁴⁴ Rostovtzeff showed that the Kertch pyx was buried shortly after 238, and since it had been worn enough to need repair before burial he puts it in the late second or early third century.⁴⁵ The Brescia bucket which is allied to the checkerboard group gives additional evidence of this dating since it was found with a coin of Commodus (180-192) (see above, note 27).

It is unlikely that any provincial Roman enamels made in the west date much after 253, when Frankish raids must have overrun Anthée. This terminal period seems also to apply to the Rhineland since no finds of enamel fibulae there can be dated later than the middle of the third century.⁴⁶

II

The three provincial Roman enamels still to be discussed are all in the *champlevé* technique. The earliest in style and in many ways the most intriguing is a funnel-shaped mount, open at the top and at the bottom, of unknown provenance and use (Figs. 7 and 8).⁴⁷

The surface is divided into twelve horizontal rows of ornament which because of its sharpness and delicacy must have been incised rather than cast and which decreases in size and scale as it approaches the top. The background is of blue and deep ruby-red enamel, the color of the enamel alternating from row to row, and sometimes within the row. The lower rows of vine patterns, growing from left to right, are more naturalistic than those on any of the early enameled objects known. They follow the Gallo-Roman terra sigillata vases and cups in general design and in such details as the serrated leaves, the doubling of the leaves on one side of the vine stalk (in the second row

38. Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 135; C. Jullian, *op.cit.*, v, pp. 295-296. Rostovtzeff, *op.cit.*, p. 123, believes the origin is northern France.

39. It is as though these disks were sawn in half to form the semicircles of the lunettes. The middle sections of the side panels of the pyxides seem to be inspired by millefiori belt buckles. See Henry, *op.cit.*, fig. 40, 1, 2, 4, 5. Furthermore, the millefiori square panels of the checkerboard group are very much like the panels on a belt buckle. See Henry, *op.cit.*, fig. 38, 2. See Exner, "Emailfibeln," pp. 63, 64, for relations between fibulae and pyxides.

40. Bequet, *op.cit.*; Henry, *op.cit.*, pp. 123, 135.

41. Exner, "Emailfibeln," pp. 64, 71, 107, 108. This dating refers only to fibulae like the pyxides and not to a coarser type

of millefiori enameling found on second century wheel fibulae. See *ibid.*, p. 63.

42. Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 135, fig. 41, 2.

43. Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 135.

44. Exner, "Emailfibeln," pp. 63, 64.

45. Rostovtzeff, *op.cit.*, pp. 103, 122. Found with gold leaf having impression of coins of Commodus (180-192) and Pupienus (238).

46. Exner, "Emailfibeln," pp. 51, 52, 58, 68, 70, 71, 72.

47. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Acc. no. 47.100.6. Ht. 4 1/8 in. (o^m105), diameter (widest) 5 in. (o^m127), depth of enamel ca. 1 mm., thickness of metal (at base) ca. 3 mm., (at top) ca. 2 mm. Lip of upper rim broken in one place. A few areas in enamel missing.

from the bottom), and the miniature disks used as space fillers (in the bottom row).⁴⁸ It has been suggested that these serrated leaves were introduced to anchor the enamel more firmly to the background thus serving the same purpose as the roughened metal base under the enamel. However, these serrated edges do not appear on some enamels and they may be only an ornamental motif copied from terra sigillata ware.

The enamel most like this object in its ornament is from Benevento, formerly in the collection of Alessandro Castellani and now in the British Museum (Fig. 9). A bucket from Bartlow Hills (British Museum)⁴⁹ also resembles the New York piece in its undulating but more barbaric vine pattern.

On the upper half of the mount the rows of ornament run in the opposite direction from those at the bottom and are more geometric. The wave pattern of advancing spirals is as common in Roman decoration as it was in Greek and is more rarely found in enamelwork than in niello, in mosaic, or in other media.⁵⁰ The wreaths of stiff olive leaves forming a herringbone pattern and the top row of vertical leaf sprigs are matched in other enameled pieces⁵¹ and are also probably derived from terra sigillata and metal vases.⁵²

The deep set-back of the base and the heavy bottom flange with its four holes indicate that the mount was originally attached to something else. Mlle. Henry, who knows the New York piece only from a photograph, has suggested that it may be nearly complete as it is, merely lacking a base. Dr. Riefstahl once pointed out its resemblance to the umbo of a shield. But the mount seems much too heavy for any shield and the ornament too delicate to use on anything but a parade shield. Professor Lehmann has wondered if it could be the hub-cap of a chariot because of the scale and curving profile of the bottom flange. The mount might conceivably be the finial of a vase, although there is no existing enamel vase of such size. The much smaller vase from Gladbach in the Rhineland has such a finial, somewhat more elongated.⁵³ Another enameled vase at Cambridge can also be cited.⁵⁴ Certainly the size and sturdiness of the flange and the large holes offer good evidence that the mount was probably attached to a larger object than itself.

To sum up, the mount cannot be closely attached to any school or group, but the color of its enamel and its relationship to Gallo-Roman terra sigillata ornament suggests that its origin was probably in Gaul. The fact that the piece is reported to have been brought to New York by a dealer hailing from Constantinople is of no value as evidence of origin, since such objects are readily transportable and the dealer could just as easily have acquired it in the west as in the east.

There is no direct archaeological evidence for dating this piece. The ornament on the upper half parallels that on other second century enamel vessels. The vine patterns are more classical in style and therefore seem to date the mount earlier than other champlevé enamel vessels of the Roman period that have survived on the continent. Indeed, Mlle. Henry has presented interesting evidence that enameling in Gaul, as in Britain, was carried on without a definite break from pre-Roman Celtic times into the first century.⁵⁵ She dates the New York piece at the end of the first cen-

⁴⁸ See F. Oswald and T. D. Pryce, *An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata*, London, 1920, pp. 160-163, pl. xxxi, etc., and R. Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-Sigillata des ersten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1919, fig. 8, etc.; Henry, *op.cit.*, fig. 25,3. These disks are also found on the enamel cup from Nehasitz, Bohemia. See Exner, "Zwei römische Emailgefässe aus dem freien Germanien," *Marburger Studien*, Darmstadt, 1938, pl. 21,1 and 22,1. They also appear on a plaque at Karlsruhe and on two enameled disks at Mainz and Saalburg. See Henry, *op.cit.*, figs. 32,2,4, and 6.

⁴⁹ Henry, *op.cit.*, figs. 25,5 and 26,2. *British Museum. Guide to Antiquities of Roman Britain*, 1922, pl. ix, p. 96.

⁵⁰ See, however, a British enamel vase in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and an enamel harness ring from the Fayum. Henry, *op.cit.*, figs. 24,4 and 22,2.

⁵¹ See, for example, the Linlithgow patera in the Edinburgh National Museum of Antiquities; the cup from Braughing in the British Museum; the vessel from Bartlow Hills in the British Museum; the cup from Maltbroek (Jutland) in the Copenhagen Museum. Henry, *op.cit.*, figs. 25,2,4-6, and 26,2.

⁵² Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 114. For a metal vase at Lyon with similar wreaths of leaves see J. de Witte, "Les divinités des sept jours de la semaine," *Gazette archéologique*, 1877, p. 81, pls. 8, 9.

⁵³ Henry, *op.cit.*, fig. 43,4.

⁵⁴ Henry, *op.cit.*, fig. 43,3; O. M. Dalton, *Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean Bequest. Catalogue of the Mediaeval Ivories, Enamels . . .*, Cambridge, 1912, no. 46, pl. xii.

⁵⁵ Henry, *op.cit.*, pp. 103, 106, 108.

tury, a little earlier than the Benevento vase, which she places around A.D. 100, or than the Bartlow Hills bucket, which has been dated in the first part of the second century by a coin of Hadrian (d. 138) found buried in a similar tumulus nearby.⁵⁶ While there can be no reservations about Mlle. Henry's chronological sequence, there is the possibility that both the New York and the Benevento pieces date in the second century, since there is more evidence of activity in the enamel workshops of Gaul at that time, and since first century terra sigillata and metalwork seem almost too classical in style to be contemporary.

III

The next enamel to be considered is a cup which, according to a label attached to it, was discovered in 1882 at Rochefort (Jura) in southeastern France (Fig. 5).⁵⁷ The surface of the cup is divided into six pentagonal sections of blue enamel fields and red borders. Triangular areas above the pentagons have a green enamel background. Geometric divisions something like these are found on Gallic terra sigillata bowls.

Within the pentagons are treelike ornaments which derive from the palmette (upside down). The Celts, who had known the palmette since it had been introduced to them by the Greeks and the Etruscans in the fifth century B.C., had changed its classic crispness into softer, more flowing curves.⁵⁸ The top lobe of each palmette is of metal and very small. The other lobes are of enamel, from top to bottom of green, red, green, blue, and red. With its contrasts of silver, enamel, and bronze of a golden color, the cup must have been beautifully brilliant.

Enamelled cups of similar shape and ornament have been found in the cemetery at La Plante near Namur (Fig. 6; now in the Musée Archéologique, Namur);⁵⁹ in England, probably at Canterbury (now in the Canterbury Museum);⁶⁰ at Pymont, Westphalia (now in the Arolsen Museum);⁶¹ and from Vehner Moor, Oldenburg, in northwestern Germany (now in the Oldenburg Museum).⁶²

That the Rochefort cup is derived from the one at Namur, or from a similar lost one, can be surmised from the ornament between the top points of the pentagons, which can be explained only as a simplification of a more elaborate leaf pattern like that on the Namur cup. The colors of the background and the red bands⁶³ enclosing the pentagons are similar on both.

All the cups of the Namur group have the same pentagonal divisions and triangular space-fillers between the top points of the pentagons, but only the Rochefort cup has the debased palmette pattern within the pentagon. The others have there a band of spirals around heart-shaped leaves.

Mlle. Henry and Exner both assume a continental origin for this Namur group, Exner plausibly suggesting some workshop in the Rhenish-Moselle region, such as the Villa Anthée.⁶⁴ Such a center of origin as Anthée would seem quite possible if one considers the sites from which the cups come:

56. Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 114. Exner, *Emailgefässe*, p. 51, dates the Bartlow vessel in the second half of the second century and believes that it was not buried until the end of the century on the basis of the type of glass vessels and bronzes found in the tumulus. In *Germania Romana* 2v, Bamberg, 1924-30, pl. XLII, no. 3, is an illustration of a silver cup from the Hildesheim treasure, called Gallo-Roman, which resembles the Benevento cup but looks earlier in date and may be more typical of first century work. See John Gage's letter in *Archaeologia*, London, xxvi, 1836, pp. 300-317, pl. 35.

57. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Acc. no. 47.100.8. Height 2 in. (0^m051), diameter (at lip) 3⁵/₈ in. (0^m092), depth of enamel ca. 1mm. Formerly in the collections of Claudius Côte, Lyon, and Julien Chappée Le Mans. Enameling is considerably chipped. Lip of cup is pushed in on one side. Henry, *op.cit.*, pp. 122, 123, fig. 30,3.

58. See Paul Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, Oxford, 1944, vol. 1, pp. 88-90; vol. II, pls. 272-275. See also *British Museum Guide to Early Iron Age*, 1925, fig. 115 for palmettes on Witham shield.

59. Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 122, fig. 30,1; A. Bequet, "Bol en bronze émaillé," *Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur*, xxvi, 1905, pp. 173-181, with plate.

60. Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 122, fig. 30,2.

61. Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 122, fig. 30,4.

62. Exner, *Emailgefässe*, pls. 21,2, and 22,2ab, pp. 47-53.

63. Bequet, *Annales*, xxvi, plate opposite p. 173 incorrectly shows the bands as green.

64. Exner, *Emailgefässe*, p. 52. Both Henry, *op.cit.*, pp. 114, 116, and Exner make other groups of enamel bowls which do not concern this study.

La Plante is very near, Rochefort is united to Belgium by the Rhône and the Meuse, Canterbury by the sea route and the Roman military roads from the coast to the German frontier. The pieces from northern Germany must also have come from the Roman provinces, of which Belgium was the nearest.

The Rochefort cup is lined with a thin sheet of silver which is lapped over the lip. The bronze is used for the sides only, the base consisting of the silver lining and another outer sheet of silver which is lapped over the bottom moulding of the cup. It must have been common practice to make the bottom of a separate piece and not to attach it until after the object had been enameled.⁶⁵

It is not known how these cups were used. It has been suggested that they were intended for religious or other ceremonial purposes or for the table. Two other enameled cups, similar to these of the Namur group in shape and size but different in design, were probably part of a set, each cup being inscribed with the names of some of the forts along the Great Wall.⁶⁶

Their shape is common not only to terra sigillata but also to metalware of the second century.⁶⁷ The La Plante cup was found in a cemetery of the second century.⁶⁸ The Pymont patera was found with coins of Domitian (81-96), Trajan (98-117), and Caracalla (211-217), the latter giving a terminal date for its burial.⁶⁹ The Rudge cup, with its apparent portrayal of the wall and its forts, must date between 146 and the end of the century.⁷⁰ There can be little doubt, therefore, that these cups date in the second half of the second century.⁷¹

IV

The last and best known of the enamels to be described is a vessel found in the first half of the nineteenth century at La Guierche, or La Guierce, a village about thirty-five miles west of Limoges (Fig. 10).⁷²

According to Ardant,⁷³ the local archivist at Limoges, it was discovered by the Sieur Pierre Bissirieux of Grenort. While digging a ditch to divide property that he and his brother had inherited, he came upon a hoard of objects, which included a large bronze vase with masks or heads, and the enameled vessel in question. Ardant also reports from the same find silver bracelets, silver and gold

65. Other enamel cups with similar bottoms are those from La Plante, Vehnner Moor, Bingen (now in the Louvre), and others.

66. J. Horsley, *Britannia Romana or the Roman Antiquities of Britain*, London, 1732, p. 192, no. 74, plate; J. D. Cowen and I. A. Richmond, "The Rudge Cup," *Archaeologia Aeli-ana*, ser. 4, XII, 1935, pp. 310-342 with illustrations. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities, Chiefly British, at Alnwick Castle*, no. 746, pp. 139, 140, interprets it as portraying the stops of a pilgrimage. Jacques Heurgon, "Découverte à Amiens d'une patère de bronze émaillée avec une inscription relative au mur d'Hadrien," *Comptes Rendues de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1949, pp. 125-128 with illustration.

67. Exner, *Emailgefässe*, p. 48 n. 7; Henry, *op.cit.*, fig. 25, 1 and 3.

68. Bequet, *Annales*, XXVI.

69. *Bonner Jahrbücher*, XXXVIII, 1865, pp. 47ff., pl. 1.

70. See note 66.

71. Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 122; Exner, *Emailgefässe*, pp. 51, 52; Cowen, *op.cit.*, p. 321.

72. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Acc. no. 47.100.5. Height 4 7/8 in. (0^m123), greatest diameter 4 3/4 in. (0^m120), depth of enamel ca. 2mm. The enamel is chipped in some places and is almost gone in areas adjoining the breaks.

Maurice Ardant, *Émailleurs et émaillerie de Limoges*, Isle, 1855, pp. 7-11, drawing opp. p. 64; F. de Verneilh, "Les émaux français et les émaux étrangers," *Bulletin monumental*,

Paris, XXIX, 1863, pp. 118-120; Jules Labarte, *Histoire des arts industriels au moyen âge*, Paris, 1865, III, pp. 452-453; A. Darcel, *Notice des émaux et de l'orfèvrerie*, Paris, 1867, pp. XIII, XIV; *idem*, "De l'émaillerie," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, XXII, 1867, pp. 271-272; Edouard Garnier, *Histoire de la verrerie et de l'émaillerie*, Tours, 1886, p. 366 (mention); E. von Sacken, "Über einige römische Metall- und Emailarbeiten," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, I, 1883, p. 45 (brief reference); E. Rupin, *L'oeuvre de Limoges*, Paris, 1890, pp. 20, 21, fig. 61 (drawing); *idem*, "L'oeuvre de Limoges," *Bulletin monumental*, Paris, LVII, 1891, p. 308 and drawing; E. Molinier, *L'émaillerie*, Paris, 1891, pp. 23-24, drawing; *idem*, *L'orfèvrerie religieuse et civile* (IV of *Histoire générale des arts appliqués à l'industrie*, Paris, 1902), pp. 31, 32 (drawing); N. Kondakoff, *Geschichte und Denkmäler des byzantinischen Emails*, Frankfurt, 1892, p. 21 (brief reference); O. M. Dalton, *Fitzwilliam Museum McClean Bequest. Catalogue of the Mediaeval Ivories, Enamels . . .*, Cambridge, 1912, p. 39 (brief reference); Morin-Jean, "Vitrum" in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, 1919, V, p. 949 (brief reference); Camille Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, Paris, 1920, V, *Verrerie*, pp. 296, 297 n. 3; Jean René, *Les arts de la terre*, Paris, 1911, p. 307 (brief reference); Willy Burger, *Abend-ländische Schmelzarbeiten*, Berlin, 1930, p. 9 (brief reference); Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 145, fig. 454 (drawing after Molinier).

73. Ardant, *op.cit.*, pp. 8-11.

rings, silver and bronze spoons, and an earthenware vase with handles "like those in which one places the ashes of the dead." Bissirieux, in announcing his discovery to Ardant, sent him a handful of the fifteen hundred odd coins which he said were found in the vessel.⁷⁴ Among these Ardant identified coins of Gallienus (260-268), Laelianus (266-267), Victorinus (268), who ruled in Gaul, Claudius Gothicus (268-270), Quintillus (270), and Tetricus, governor of Aquitaine, later emperor (268-273).⁷⁵

The consecutive dates of these coins would indicate that the vessel was buried during the unsettled times toward the end of the third century.⁷⁶ A silver treasure found at Berthouville, also in western France, may have been buried around 275 or 276 under similar circumstances.⁷⁷ Although the La Guierche vessel was accompanied by a vase of funerary type, the great number of coins in it would imply that it, too, was part of a hoard.

The vessel was owned by John Bolle of Angoulême at the time of Ardant's publication in 1855 and it was reported by Rupin to be in the possession of Bolle's widow in 1890. It was then lost sight of for many years⁷⁸ until it was purchased in Paris in 1931.

It has a pear-shaped belly tapering at the top into a neck and is composed of two sections originally soldered together. The lower section was found broken in several pieces, some of which were lost, but in the nineteenth century the three remaining pieces and the bottom section were soldered together again.⁷⁹ An examination of the vessel reveals four points of attachment, two on each side, at the top and bottom of the neck. From these one can probably assume a pair of small handles.⁸⁰

If, however, these attachments were for suspension, it is possible that the La Guierche vessel when complete might have had a use and shape like that of another enameled vessel found in the English Channel at Ambletuse near Boulogne, and now in the British Museum (Fig. 16). This vessel has six holes in its base (Fig. 17), and it has been suggested that it might have been a sprinkler used in lustration ceremonies.⁸¹ It is clear that the base of the La Guierche vessel overlapped the present large opening at the bottom, since there is a border around the opening one-quarter of an inch broad which is the only part of the bronze not originally covered with an artificially blackened surface (Fig. 12).⁸² If the vessel were suspended, that might explain in part why at its belly the edge of the lower half is two millimeters narrower than the edge of the upper half.

However, in spite of its general resemblance to the Ambletuse vessel, the La Guierche vessel is much closer in shape to that of an ampulla and it seems more likely that it was such a two-handled vase, pure and simple. It was certainly used as such when it was buried full of coins. Its shape was a common one to terracotta ware of the second to the mid-third century, which also have similar

74. Ardant reports that many of these were dispersed.

75. De Verneilh, *op.cit.*, examined other coins from the hoard belonging to de Chassay at La Guierche and found that they were of the same date as those examined by Ardant. He reports that the vessel was previously offered to de Chassay for 50 francs, at least an indication of the honesty of the find!

76. De Verneilh, *op.cit.*, suggests "during the disorders at the fall of Tetricus and the rise of Probus." Frankish raids swept over the country in 275.

77. Ernest Babelon, *Le trésor d'argenterie de Berthouville*, Paris, 1916, p. 55.

78. Rupin, *L'oeuvre de Limoges*, caption under fig. 61. Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 145 and note 2 reports the vessel as having disappeared. Prof. Frank Delage, President of the Archaeological Society of Limoges, has kindly confirmed the history of the vessel. He notes the spelling *La Dierse* (Charente) as more correct although admitting *La Guierche* as more habitual. I have used *La Guierche* following Rupin, Molinier, and Henry.

79. Ardant, *op.cit.*, p. 9, says that Bissirieux sent him a fragment of the vessel for examination. Bissirieux "wished to resolder it to the other parts."

80. A. Comarmond, *Description des antiquités et objets d'art contenus dans les salles du Palais des Arts de la ville de Lyon*, 1855-57, p. 330, no. 445, pl. 13, notes such a bronze ampulla but without handles. C. Roach Smith, *Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities*, London, 1854, p. 13, no. 32, pl. IV, cites such a clay amphora of a type which has "invariably a handle on each side of the neck." K. Schumacher, "Zur römischen Keramik," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, XCIX, 1896, p. 108, notes such handles and swelling bellies. See *Archaeologia*, XXVI, 1836, pl. XXXIII, fig. 7, for another similar terracotta vase from Bartlow Hills. See Morin-Jean, *Verrerie*, pp. 84-86 with illustrations.

81. Henry, *op.cit.*, pp. 142, 143, suggests that it was a censer or an incense burner. If so, it must originally have had another opening somewhere else to allow for a greater access of air.

82. The enamel colors stood out against the black background. Compare the two blackened bronze enamel mounts in the British Museum from Polden Hill (Somersetshire). Henry, *op.cit.*, pp. 94, 96, figs. 15, 1, 16, 1. See also *British Museum Guide to Early Iron Age*, pp. 103, 143, plate VIII (in color).

little round handles on the neck. As has been pointed out, the present bottom of the vessel must have had a base attached to it; perhaps it was like the tripod base of a bronze vase in the Lyon Museum which is similar in shape to the La Guierche vessel (see above, note 80), or possibly it had a flanged ring similar to that of the Ambleteuse vessel but without the holes. The opening at the top of the La Guierche piece has been beveled on the inside, probably to allow a cover to fit over it (Fig. 11).

The surface of the vessel is decorated with a series of vertical bands which increase in width toward the middle to correspond with the increasing size of the vessel and diminish again toward the top. These bands are of two alternating types in contrasting colors: one type has pairs of affronted trumpets in dark blue enamel against the blackened bronze background, and the other has trumpets also facing each other but joined together to form a pelta pattern, the peltas or hearts alternating in red and olive-green enamel against a background of turquoise enamel.⁸³ The patterns of the upper and lower sections are reversed. Such simple means have achieved a unity and richness unique among known enameled vessels of the period.

That alternation of colors makes it difficult at first to see what is pattern and what is background. On the dark bands it is the pattern of enamel on metal that stands out; on the light bands it is the pattern of metal on enamel. This alternation between pattern and background is one aspect of the optical illusionism or colorism which Riegl has emphasized as a characteristic of "late Roman art industry."⁸⁴ One finds parallel effects on bronze mounts of provincial Roman military belts and trappings common along the Rhenish and Danubian frontiers. The designs on these mounts are formed either by the metal itself or by the cut-outs or openwork framed in the metal.⁸⁵

The trumpet patterns on the La Guierche vessel are more regular and symmetrical than the swirling trumpet designs arranged asymmetrically on earlier Celtic bronzes of Britain⁸⁶ or Ireland or on the provincial Roman bronzes of the Danubian frontier (Fig. 13). The nearest comparison to such trumpet patterns used in enameling—and it is not a close one—is the so-called altar plaque found in the lower Thames (Fig. 18) and probably made in southern England. It is now in the British Museum.⁸⁷ In the central panel of the Thames plaque one finds the same paired trumpets and, within the "pediment" above the central panel, the same curling bronze spirals. Small peltas can also be found above the backs of the lower pair of animals. However, the color scheme of this plaque is less sober than that of La Guierche, and the interlocking tails of the light and dark trumpets have a wilder swing typical of the Celtic tradition still very strong in British art. The two objects are probably from different countries and furnish a good instance of the internationalism of ornament at this time. This internationalism is due not only to Roman influence but even more to the common Celtic inheritance. The Celtic tradition was probably largely responsible for the continuing use of trumpet patterns in provincial Roman art.⁸⁸

The curling metal spirals embedded in the enamel of the Thames and the La Guierche pieces are also found on a cup in the Museum of National Antiquities at St.-Germain-en-Laye (Fig. 14), the La Plante (Fig. 6), Canterbury and Pyrmont cups (discussed in section III), the handle of

83. The bleaching of the colors in many areas of the enamel is probably due to the action of the soil. See Exner, "Emailfibel," p. 34. In one broken area the original sealing-wax red is seen, but otherwise the color has faded to a dull brick-orange.

84. Alois Riegl, *Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, Vienna, 1927, pp. 293, 296, etc.

85. Riegl, *op.cit.*, fig. 101, pls. 13-15; L. Lindenschmit, *Die Altertümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Mainz, 1858, III c., Heft x, pl. 6, etc. Jacobsthal, *op.cit.*, I, p. 79; II, pls. 113-121, cites Celtic precedent for this provincial Roman art.

86. However, even the Celtic asymmetry found in British bronzes and enamels of the first century has been partly regularized under Roman influence (Henry, *op.cit.*, fig. 15, 1-5).

Wilhelm von Jenny, "Zur Herkunft des Trompetenornamentes," *IPEK*, Jahrgang 1935, Berlin, 1936, pp. 31-48 (ill.), believes the British sent to Rhenish frontiers in the second century brought British trumpet patterns to the continent. However, he admits greater symmetry in most continental examples.

87. Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 110 n. 1, fig. 26,1; Riegl, *op.cit.*, pp. 359-363, figs. 102, 103; Jacobsthal, *op.cit.*, II, pl. 275, no. 410, gives an earlier Celtic example something like the British Museum plaque.

88. See Teresa G. Frisch, "Pierced Bronzes," *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report*, IV, part IV, fasc. 1, New Haven, 1949, pp. 3-7.

the Linlithgow bowl and a mount from Kertch (Crimea) in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.⁸⁹ The thickening of the spirals at their ends is a peculiarity inherited from Celtic art.

These spiral tendrils were originally derived from classical sources. The double trumpet joined as a pelta is a motif widely scattered throughout the late Roman world. For example, one can cite at random the pelta on Roman mosaics in Antioch, Tivoli, Trier, and other sites in the Rhineland, and on distance markers on Hadrian's Wall in Scotland.⁹⁰ Trumpet designs in balanced patterns are common in Roman decoration in the Rhineland.⁹¹ Pelta-shaped pendants are common to Roman military equipment and to military grave steles in the Rhineland and elsewhere. What is more important for us, however, is their use in symmetrical rows on buckles and mounts such as those in the Museum at Linz,⁹² Austria, and especially in a vertical arrangement, one pelta on top of another, on a disk from a Roman swordsheath found in Cologne,⁹³ or on two buckle plates from Aquileia and St. Pölten, Lower Austria.⁹⁴

This vertical arrangement of the trumpet patterns and peltas may be an inheritance from the "vertical lyre compositions" of early Celtic art. It is the method of decoration of the La Guierche vase, and in the fourth and fifth centuries it becomes a favorite one in chip-carving work which was particularly popular in western Europe and the Danube, and later in the north.⁹⁵ The chip-carving style, so called because of its resemblance to woodcarving, was much used for Roman military mounts found along the borders of the empire, and it was carried over into barbarian work, especially in northern Europe and Scandinavia. A splendid example, which has the same vertical arrangement of peltas and trumpet patterns as the La Guierche vessel, is the plaque and associated spear mounts in the Metropolitan Museum from a military tomb at Vermand in northern France, dating from the end of the fourth century (Fig. 15).⁹⁶

The emphasis on repeating pattern in the La Guierche vessel and even more in the Ambleteuse vessel reminds one of the oriental concept of an over-all design. This resemblance, which well may be due to oriental influence, has led De Linas to assume the existence of nomadic craftsmen coming from the east, making the enamel vessels found in western Europe, and then mysteriously disappearing again in the fourth century.⁹⁷

While De Linas' theory has been largely rejected today, it is admittedly difficult to localize the manufacture of the larger enamel vessels, excepting many of those found in Britain which were evidently made there. Mlle. Henry reserves final judgment on the origin of these larger vessels, but believes that the Ambleteuse vase was "simply influenced by the strong oriental current which penetrated all [Roman] imperial art at this period."⁹⁸ One need only look at many of the fibulae and belt mounts scattered over the empire to find cut-out, lacy patterns as oriental in feeling as the ornament on the Ambleteuse vessel.⁹⁹ That these oriental mounts need not be importations from the east may be surmised from the number found in the Rhineland. One of these even has the Gallic name, Ausonius, inscribed in niello on its face.¹⁰⁰

89. Henry, *op.cit.*, figs. 26, 3, and 31.

90. See Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton, 1947, I, p. 386. Henry, *op.cit.*, fig. 39, illustrates enamel pins with pelta patterns, in Austria, Britain, the Rhineland, and Gaul. See also *Germania Romana*, ²II, pls. III, IV, VIII, XXI; G. MacDonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, Oxford, 1934, pls. 3, LXXIII, etc.

91. Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, I, Heft x, pl. 6; II, Heft VIII, pl. 5; III, Heft VII, pl. 5, and Heft VIII, pl. 5, no. 4.

92. *Germania Romana*, ²v, pl. XII, no. 6; Riegl, *op.cit.*, pl. xv, no. 6.

93. *Germania Romana*, ²v, pl. xxxv, no. 5.

94. Riegl, *op.cit.*, fig. 82, and J. Werner, "Spätrömische Gürtelgarnitur in Keilschnitt-Technik aus Niederösterreich," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, xxvi, 1930, p. 54, ill.

95. Riegl, *op.cit.*, figs. 81 (left column), 86; Jacobsthal, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 85, 86.

96. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Acc. nos. 17.192.143-145. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917. The spear ring is closely paralleled by a similar flattened ring which is part of the Coleraine silver hoard from northern Ireland, now in the British Museum.

97. Charles de Linas, "Gourde antique en bronze émaillé," *Gazette archéologique*, ix, 1884, pp. 138ff.

98. Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 145, fig. 452, also cites a fragment, similar in pattern to Ambleteuse, found in Northumberland.

99. Riegl, *op.cit.*, fig. 69, pl. xvi. See W. F. Volbach, "Das christliche Kunstgewerbe der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters im Mittelmeergebiet," in Bossert, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, v, Berlin, 1932, p. 66, fig. 1; Jean Babelon, *L'orfèvrerie française*, Paris, 1946, pp. 7, 8, pl. IV, for similar bracelets in the Bibliothèque Nationale from Pont-Audemer.

100. Anton Kisa, "Römische Ausgrabungen an der Luxemburgerstrasse in Köln," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, xcix, 1896, pp. 43-47, pl. 1. See also *Germania Romana*, ²v, pl. XII, no. 6.

In spite of possible oriental influence, the La Guierche vase seems too securely anchored to the tradition of provincial Roman ornament not to have been made in western Europe. Although it was found near Limoges, there seems to be no adequate reason for attributing it to a Limoges atelier, tempting as it may be to assume that this famous center of Romanesque and Gothic enamel made enamels at so early a period.

Everything points toward a third century date. Considering the chronology of enamel fibulae, it seems likely that such an enamel vessel would stand toward its end, in the first half of the third century. The other terminal date of the vessel is fixed in the latter part of the century by its burial around 275. A coin of Tacitus (September, 275-April, 276), still fresh from the mint, was found with the Ambleteuse vessel, indicating a similar date of burial. Another enamel vessel not hitherto mentioned—a flask from Pinguente, Istria—was accompanied by coins of Antoninus Pius (d. 161) but also by other Roman objects, the latest of which “seem to date in the middle of the third century.”¹⁰¹

The pelta and trumpet patterns on the La Guierche vase show a fully developed and regularized form not likely to be found before the latter part of the second or the third century.¹⁰² Since the vessel shows enough signs of wear to imply its manufacture sometime before its burial, its dating by Henry around the middle of the third century seems correct. No enameling was evidently done at the Villa Anthée after the Frankish raid of 253, and other enamel centers seem to have been equally affected at about the same time.

Wherever enameling originated, one cannot escape the fact that the largest surviving body of *champlevé* enameling from so early a period has been found in the Celtic lands of western Europe conquered by Rome. Philostratus, the Greek Sophist who lived in Rome in the third century and traveled in Gaul and Britain with Septimius Severus in 208,¹⁰³ notes the process of enameling in these countries in the following oft-quoted passage: “These colors, they say, the barbarians of the Ocean spread on hot bronze; they take on body, become solid and preserve what has been depicted.”¹⁰⁴

Again it is in western Europe under new impulses from the east that the great Romanesque and Gothic schools of mediaeval *champlevé* enamel arise.

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101. Communication of F. Eichler to Mlle. Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 143 n. 2. Other coins found with it were of Antoninus Pius (d. 161). See Von Sacken, *op.cit.*, p. 41.

102. Jenny, *op.cit.*, pp. 45, 46.

103. Bequet, *op.cit.*, p. 267.

104. Miss Marjorie Milne of the Metropolitan Museum, who kindly supplied this translation from the *Icones* (Lib. 1, ep. xxviii), believes that because of his other uses of the word in the *Icones*, Philostratus definitely means by “Ocean” the Atlantic, and not the North Sea or the Baltic, as has sometimes been supposed.

ST. MARTIN'S AT ANGERS AND THE EVOLUTION OF EARLY MEDIAEVAL CHURCH TOWERS

GEORGE H. FORSYTH, JR.

THE church of St. Martin stands in a crowded quarter of the city of Angers, in west central France, and now has the appearance of a half ruined structure belonging to the early Gothic period, for the most part (*text figs. a, b*). However, analysis and excavation have revealed remnants of a whole series of constructions below the present building and embedded in it.¹ One of the most interesting is the late Carolingian church. In *text figure d* its outlines have been disengaged from earlier and later work. On the basis of general historical probabilities, and some documentary indications, it may be attributed to the middle of the tenth century. Apparently the structure was left unfinished; but, as usual in mediaeval churches, its incompleteness was methodical and not merely casual. The apse and choir were roofed so that services could proceed at the main altar, while the remainder of the plan was clearly blocked out and merely awaited further funds for completion.

In order to indicate the forms of the proposed nave and transept arms, the architect constructed a crossing to serve as the central nexus of the design and also three end-walls disposed radially around it. Therefore as far as horizontal arrangements were concerned, the structure could serve as its own master model. Its designer had no need to leave any other record of his intentions behind him. However, a fifth radiating arm was also meant to extend from the crossing. There is evidence indicating that a lantern tower was to continue the central space upward and to admit light into the middle part of the church through a lofty ring of windows. Naturally no end wall could be erected to indicate the proposed height or the main outlines of this feature. It is the only part of the design which the architect could not block out.

Nevertheless, the outlines of the church as a whole, and the construction of its crossing in particular, do contain some implications about the structure that was meant to rise above it. Also there is considerable historical information from various sources which can be used to give specific form to these general indications. On the basis of such internal and external evidence I have drawn the crossing tower shown in *text figure c*. This is not put forward as a reconstruction, based on direct archaeological evidence, of the specific tower designed for St. Martin's in the tenth century but as a general type, a possibility, determined by broad historical considerations.

In order to explain the form of the tower shown in the drawing, we may begin with the various pieces of internal evidence provided by St. Martin's itself. One such indication is to be found in the structural proportions of the church when viewed as a whole. Its strength is concentrated at the crossing, whose footings are broad and deep, and whose walls are much thicker than any others in the building. The general effect is that of a massive pedestal set into the middle of the plan and

1. The church was secularized and sold as private property during the French Revolution. After a century of neglect the remains of it were acquired by the late Canon Pinier, who restored it and began excavations in 1903 (P. Pinier, "Anc. église Saint-Martin d'Angers," in *Congrès archéologique*, LXXVII, 1910, part 1, pp. 190-206). His excavations were completed by Prof. W. A. Campbell of Wellesley and myself. The results

will soon appear in book form.

In the following pages considerable use is made of documentary evidence. My translations of these documents have been reviewed and revised by Dr. Erwin Panofsky of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. I wish to acknowledge the great value of his help and, in general, to record my profound obligation to him.

designed to provide a stable base for some tall structure above it. As to the specific form of the superstructure implied by the central pedestal, we have no evidence except the fragments of *petit appareil* wall which still rise above the ashlar work of the crossing. However, these are sufficient, even in their fragmentary state, to prove that there was never any intention of building a low ceiling above the central area. The ceilings over the choir, the nave, and each transept arm would have had no counterpart erected at their level above the crossing.² Evidently the central space was to rise higher than the adjoining ones; and, if it were not to remain a dark pocket, it would necessarily have to overtop their roofs, so as to receive light through upper windows. The resulting form would be a lantern tower; and there is little doubt that the tenth century design of St. Martin's called for such an imposing feature.

As to what manner of structure was designed to crown this lantern tower, no direct evidence is available. Perhaps nothing but a pyramidal wooden roof was envisaged at the top of it. On the other hand, the broad foundations and the four great arches of its base are all so massive as to suggest that they were intended to support something more ambitious; and, actually, they proved solid enough to bear safely the load of a ponderous vault and a large stone belfry (now destroyed) which were superimposed on them in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The tenth century design of the tower probably did not include a vault,³ but a structure designed with such a powerful base was surely meant to be more than a stumpy lantern tower and may well have been intended to carry a large belfry at its summit. In general the eleventh century builders adhered to the scheme, if not the structural technique, of their predecessors at St. Martin's; and the belfry commenced by them may well be a fulfillment of their predecessors' general intentions.

If all the available internal evidence thus indicates the possibility of a monumental lantern tower and belfry above the crossing of the tenth century design of St. Martin's, a considerable amount of external evidence, derived from other monuments and other sources of information, appears to confirm such a possibility. The combination type of tower, intended to admit light to the center of a church and to support bells above the roof, seems to have been quite common in the Carolingian period; and its popularity and developed form suggest a long course of development, reaching back into an earlier age.

It is certain that bells, at least, had been familiar fixtures in churches ever since the Merovingian period, when they were appreciated for their solemn authority and as lending a tongue to the church. In a contemporary document we read of *campanas ad reverenciam ecclesiae*; and the verses of a celebrated inscription, which was located in the fifth century church of Saint-Martin at Tours, exhort the observer to lift his gaze to the tower, whence the voice of Martin calls.⁴

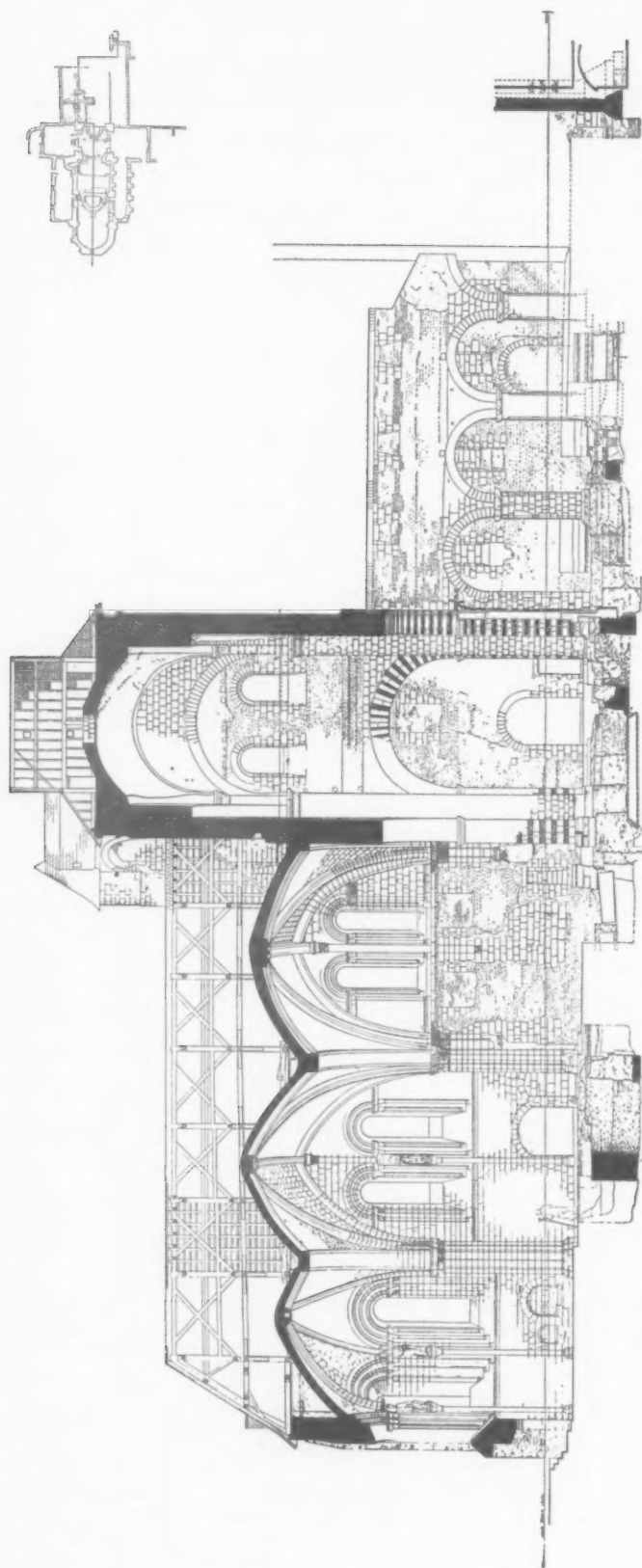
While it may have been usual, at such an early period, to house church bells in a small roof turret, we have reason to believe that they might also be placed in a monumental tower. There is

2. Unlike the outer faces of the crossing, the inner ones never had a set-off, marking a ceiling level, between the ashlar and the *petit appareil* above it; and the carefully made ribbon joints of the ashlar continue up the inner face of the *petit appareil*, indicating that both surfaces were equally intended to be seen from below.

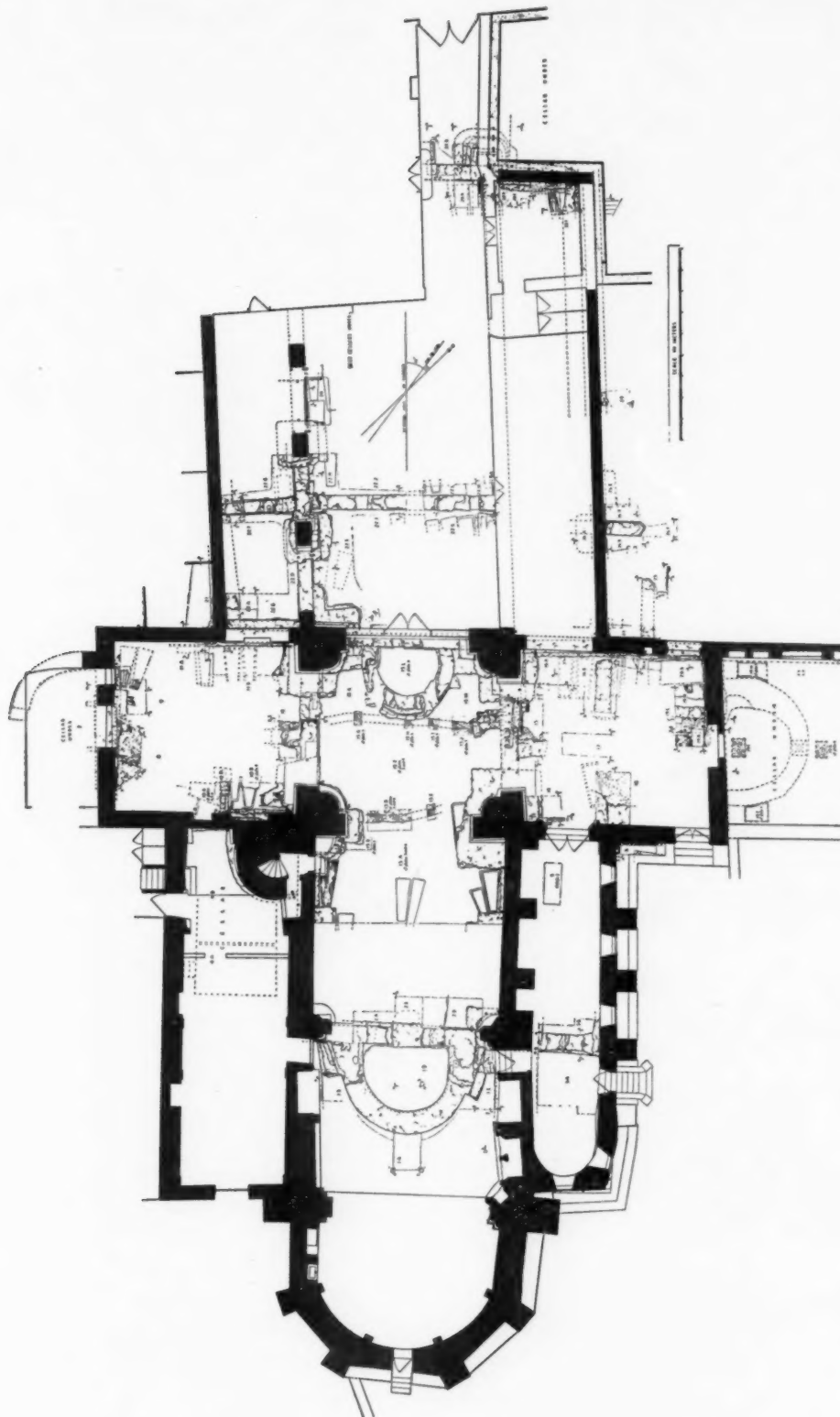
3. In its original state, the interior of the crossing was a simple boxlike form without any convenient points of support for vaulting. When the eleventh century vault was thrown across this space, cylindrical corner piers were especially built to provide such support.

4. As to the first reference, see no. 1053 in E. Knögel, "Schriftquellen zur Kunstgeschichte der Merowingerzeit," in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 1936, pp. 1-258. As to the Tours inscription, see E. Le Blant, *Inscr. chrét. de la Gaule*, 1, 1856, pp. 231-232. By the end of the Merovingian period, or the beginning of the Carolingian, the use of bells in church towers appears to have become a standard practice, if we may judge

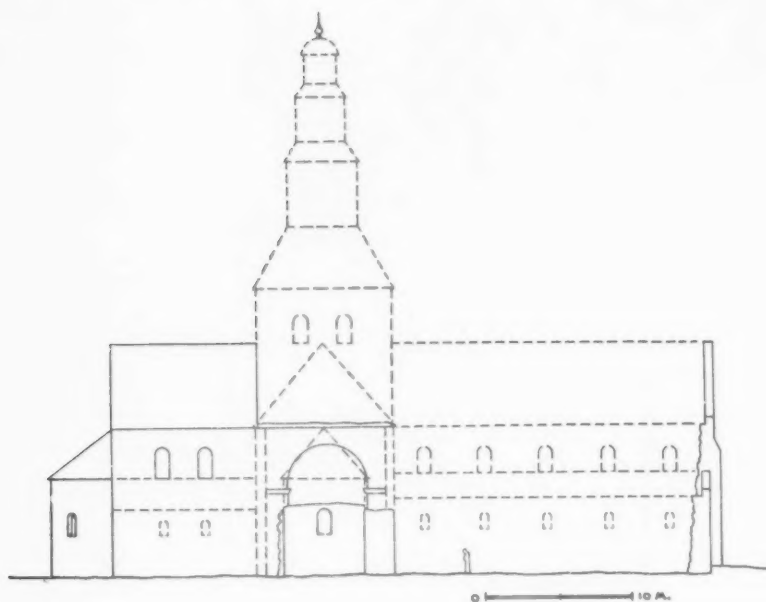
by the following passage, which was written between 833 and 845 concerning a church built at St. Wandrille in Normandy during the previous century (no. 108 in Knögel, *op.cit.*): "Denique constructa idem praepositus hac basilica, campanam in turricula eiusdem collocandam, ut moris est ecclesiarum, opifici in hac arte erudito facere praecepit" ("At last, this church having been erected, the same vice-abbot commissioned an artisan skilled in this craft to make a bell which, as is the custom in churches, might be placed in its small tower"). The diminutive, *turricula*, may signify a mere roof turret. Its exact location on the church is not indicated, but another document from the Merovingian period is more specific in this respect. Gregory of Tours describes the course of a thunderbolt which entered the church of Saint-Julien at Brioude. After descending through the hole in which the bell rope hung, it passed out through a window near the saint's tomb (no. 258 in Knögel, *op.cit.*). This implies that the bell was placed above the roof and not far from the sanctuary.



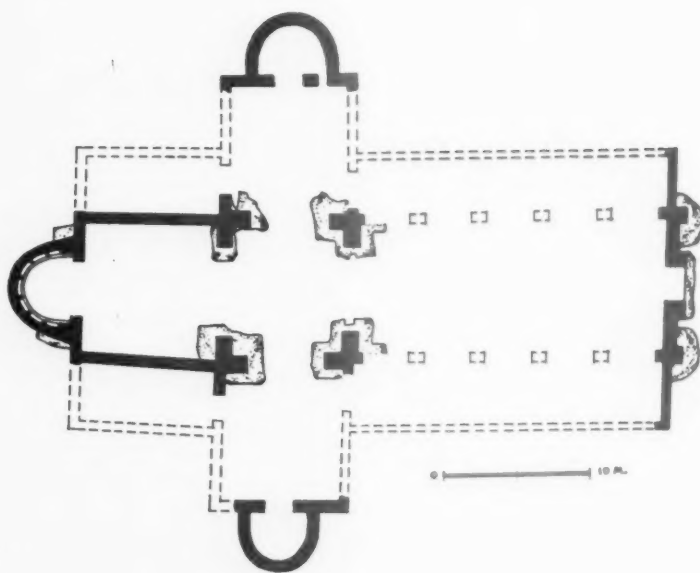
(a) St. Martin's at Angers. Longitudinal section (modern)



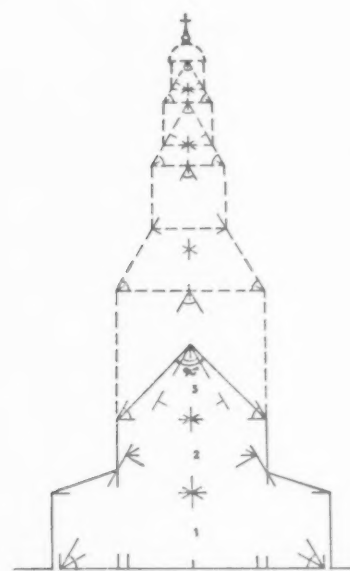
(b) St. Martin's at Angers. Plan (modern)



(c)



(d)



(e)

(c) Conjectured side elevation in tenth century (completed parts in unbroken line; incomplete parts in broken line); (d) Tenth century plan (parts actually begun are black; parts intended but not begun are in broken line); (e) Schematic cross-section of tenth century design, showing conjectured system of triangles

ST. MARTIN'S AT ANGERS

a poem, written in the sixth century by Venantius Fortunatus, which concerns the new cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul at Nantes and contains the line: "Now sing the Lord's praises amid the pealing of your bells"; while in another, and better known, poem concerning the same cathedral, he describes its great tower, "conveying the effect of a mountain," and says that it was placed centrally above the church. Although the poet does not explicitly state where the bells were hung, it is reasonable to conjecture that they occupied this very same tower. If so, a church erected not far from Angers during the Merovingian period had a monumental bell-tower near its center. Moreover the poem indicates that this tower was composed of a square base and a cylindrical superstructure which rose to a lofty apex and was, apparently, surrounded by arcading. Indeed, Fortunatus' words, although written in the Merovingian period, seem to imply a form of tower comparable to the one we have drawn, on the basis of Carolingian evidence, as representing the type of lantern tower and belfry that might have been designed to fit the crossing of St. Martin's in the tenth century. Such a similarity suggests that Carolingian towers of this type had been evolving for three or four centuries, if not longer.⁵

While Fortunatus does not give any clear indication that the cathedral tower at Nantes was a lantern or stood above a crossing, we have another account from the same period which does imply a structure conforming to this type and occupying this general position. It rose above the church of Saint-Anatolian at Clermont and is cursorily described by Gregory of Tours, who tells of its collapse in the sixth century. He notes that it stood over the sanctuary of the church, that its walls rested upon arches supported by columns, and that it contained a ceiling decorated with a picture which, we may conclude, would require light from near-by windows of lantern type. Moreover he mentions the wooden superstructure, covered with tiles, which was evidently of considerable size

5. The two passages from Fortunatus are published in *Mon. Germ. hist., auctor. antiq.*, IV, part 1, 1881, pp. 56-57. They are as follows: (1) "Vertice sublimi patet aulae forma triformis—nomine apostolico sanctificata deo.—Quantum inter sanctos meritum supereminet illis—celsius haec tantum culmina culmen habent.—In medium turrus apex super ardua tendit—quadratumque levans crista rotundat opus.—Altius, ut stupeas, arce ascendente per arcus—instar montis agens aedis acumen habet" ("On the exalted summit [*scil.*, on the highest elevation in town] the tripartite form of the church dedicated to God in the name of the [two] apostles is exposed to view. By as much as their merit excels among the saints, by so much do these roofs have a loftier culmination. Towards the middle, a towered summit reaches above the steep [roofs]; and, heightening [or: lightening] it, a superstructure rounds off the square pile. Amazing to behold, the sacred edifice, conveying the effect of a mountain, has an apex higher than a citadel rising upon arches"). (2) "Nunc domini laudes inter tua classica canta—Et trinitatis opem machina trina sonet" ("Now sing the Lord's praises amid the pealing of your bells—And let the threefold structure sound forth the power of the Trinity"). Ducange defines *classicum* as *pulsatio omnium campanarum campanalis* and cites the above passage from Fortunatus as an instance. According to Leo, the editor of Fortunatus (p. 406 in above vol. of *M.G.H.*), *machina trina* is an expression parallel with *aulae forma triformis* in the first quotation. In that case, *machina trina* would signify the church as a whole, to which the bells lend a tongue. However, Quicherat maintains that *machina trina* refers to the great tower on the church and that it consisted of three stories which contained the bells. He refers to another document of the period wherein *machina* apparently does have such a meaning (see note 6 below).

There is considerable difference of opinion concerning the interpretation of *aulae forma triformis*. A number of scholars have tried to connect the phrase with the upper end of the church, (i.e. its sanctuary), rather than the building as a whole, in which case an effort might be made to associate the tower with the sanctuary also and to picture it as rising above the center of a lofty chancel or even a crossing (*cf.* Le Blant,

op.cit., I, p. 263; Ducange, *s.v. trichorus*; J. Hubert, *L'Art pré-roman*, 1938, p. 48; J. von Schlosser, *Schriftquellen zur Gesch. der Karol. Kunst*, 1892, no. 171; R. Egger, "Vom Ursprung der romanischen Chorturmkirche," *Wiener Jahreshfte*, xxxii, 1940, Heft 1, p. 94). However, such a specific interpretation of *aulae forma triformis* seems very unlikely because, as Panofsky notes, the poem, when viewed as a whole, has a logical plan and moves from the general to the particular. First the poet extols the saints to whom the church is dedicated. Then he gives the total impression of it as a "tripartite" structure (whatever he means thereby; possibly he refers to its division into atrium, nave, and choir, or into nave, transept, and chevet—or perhaps he means quite simply that it had three aisles). Then he concentrates on the central tower with its square base and cylindrical superstructure, which surmounts the steep roofs. Then he stays up, so to speak, and describes pictures and a ceiling which apparently were in, or on, the topmost story of the tower. Finally he praises the variable play of light on the tin covering of the spire as the sun makes its daily round.

Hubert claims that the tower was a lantern. He assumes that the above-mentioned paintings and ceiling were on the interior of the tower and that the poet is attempting to describe the shimmering effect of the light reflected onto them through lantern windows from the roofs outside (*op.cit.*, p. 80). But, apart from certain grammatical objections to such an interpretation, it is a fact that Fortunatus does not mention windows in connection with the tower; and the poem seems wholly devoted to the exterior appearance of the church. Also, judging by the sequence of his description the ceiling was visible from the exterior and was near the top of the spire. Perhaps it was seen through the open arcading which appears to have formed part of that structure. The paintings may have been on the ceiling above the bells.

As to the possibility that the tower was arcaded, Fortunatus only says it was "higher than a citadel rising upon arches," but we may conclude that the arcading as well as the size formed part of the comparison. Otherwise there would have been no reason to mention the arches at all.

and probably was not a simple pyramidal roof, since its weight constituted an important part of the total load of the tower upon the columns below. It may well have been a tall cylindrical structure like the one at Nantes.⁶

No bells are mentioned in connection with the tower at Clermont. Hence we do not know whether it was a complete prototype of Carolingian towers like the one we have proposed for St. Martin's. However, the Nantes and Clermont towers, taken together, seem to possess all the necessary elements of such a prototype, namely large size and a position above the chancel and a composite form consisting of a square lantern below and a round belfry above.

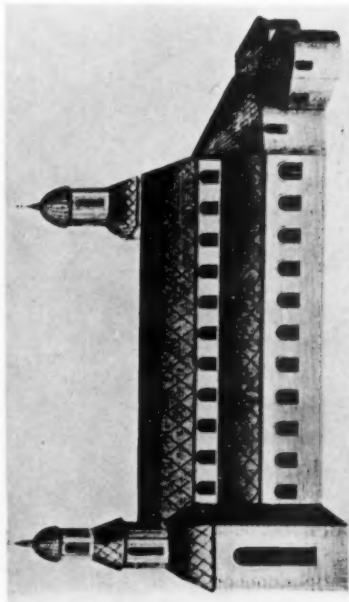
Having considered possible Merovingian antecedents, we may now examine the material which is relevant to St. Martin's and is found in the Carolingian period itself. Such material includes not only written descriptions, as in the Merovingian period, but also a few actual representations of towers. Two of the best known representations are reproduced in Figures 1 and 2. One of them is a seventeenth century engraving from an eleventh century drawing, now destroyed, of the abbey of Saint-Riquier, which was constructed in the last decade of the eighth century. The other is a drawing of Chartres cathedral which is found in an eleventh century manuscript and represents the appearance of the church completed at the beginning of that century. It is here shown with a modern architectural interpretation.⁷ It is convenient to summarize the documentary evidence with these two views before us, the graphic and written material serving mutually to clarify each other.

6. The passage, which is found in the *In gloria martyrum* (1, 64), reads as follows: "Erectis tamen parietibus super altare aedis illius [Saint-Anatolian at Clermont], turrem, ac columnis Pharis Heraclisque, transvolutis arcubus, erexerunt, miram camerae fucorum diversitatibus imaginatam adhibentes picturam. Nam ita fuit hoc opus elegans et subtile, ut per longa tempora rimarum frequentatione divisum pene in ruinam pendere videretur. Quod periculum Avitus pontifex cernens, anticipans futuram columnarum stragem, iussit tegnos asseresque vel tegulas amoveri; quae submota nec adiutoria columnis adposita, nutu Dei, discedentibus de machina structoribus, ut cibum caperent, recedentibusque et reliquis a basilica, dato columnae immenso pondere cum magno sonitu super altare et circa altare diruerunt, completaque est aedis nebula de effracti calcis pulvere" (*Mon. Germ. hist., scriptor. rer. Merov.*, 1, 1885, pp. 531-532, ed. by Krusch). This may be translated as follows: "However, the walls having been erected above the altar of that church, they built from [i.e. above] the columns of Parian marble and Heraclian [or Lydian] stone, connected by arches, a tower, applying to its ceiling [vault ?] a wonderful picture, conceived with a diversity of glowing colors. For this structure was so refined and delicate that, cracked by attacks of frost for a long time, it almost seemed to threaten ruin. Avitus, the bishop [of Clermont, from 571], observing this danger and anticipating the future collapse of the columns, ordered the beams and laths, or roof tiles, to be removed. These having been removed, and supports not [yet] having been placed against the columns, by the will of God while the builders were descending from the *machina*, to eat their meal, and the rest were leaving the basilica, the columns, an enormous load having been assigned to them, collapsed with a great noise on top of the altar and around it, and the church was filled by a cloud from the dust of broken limestone." In this case, the term *machina* probably does not mean an ordinary scaffolding but, specifically, the wooden superstructure of beams and laths, covered with tiles, which stood upon the masonry of the tower's base. The implication is that Avitus, in his anxiety to lighten the load on the overburdened columns as soon as possible, had ordered the wooden superstructure, the *machina*, to be taken down at once, with the intention of having the columns themselves shored up later; but the collapse had occurred just as the men were completing their work of dismantling the superstructure and before they had had time to prop up the columns. If this interpretation of *machina* is correct, it may have been a wooden spire, perhaps composed of several stories each of

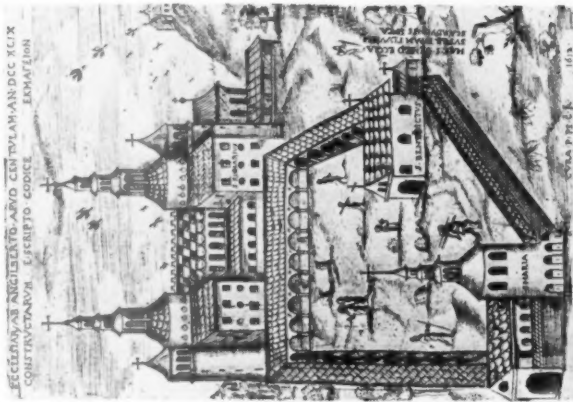
which resembled the *structura machinae* which King Alaric II (485-507) was advised to have removed from the top of a church tower because it obstructed the view from his palace at Narbonne (according to Gregory of Tours; see no. 247 in Knögel, *op.cit.*). Quicherat interprets *structura machinae*, as here used, to mean one story of a wooden campanile similar to those at Saint-Riquier (Fig. 2) and cites Fortunatus' description of Nantes cathedral, interpreting *machina trina* as a reference to its three-storied tower (*Mélanges d'archéologie*, 1886, pp. 44-45). Certainly it does seem as if these terms, *turritus apex*, *crista*, *machina*, *structura machinae*, employed in connection with towers built in the sixth century or earlier, usually referred to light wooden pinnacles or crests which were the forerunners of the tall spires later to rise above Carolingian crossings similar to the one at St. Martin's.

As to the possibility that the term *camera* may have literally meant that there was a vault over the crossing at Clermont, see V. Mortet, *Mélanges d'archéologie*, 2e. série, 1915, pp. 269 and 296-299. If a crossing vault, supported on columns and arches, did rise above the surrounding roofs, then this whole domelike structure on legs, similar to a great ciborium, would have resembled the contemporary crossing at the center of the church of S. Saturnino in Cagliari, which must have protruded above surrounding roofs since its dome is pierced by windows, and would perhaps have been comparable to the crossing of the somewhat later church of S. Salvator at Spoleto and to the even earlier tomb which formed the nucleus of the first church of St. John at Ephesus; and it would have been a striking antecedent for the tower of St. Martin's as finally vaulted.

7. For the two representations, see R. Merlet and Clerval, *Un manuscrit Chartrain du XIe siècle*, 1893, opp. p. 73, and W. Effmann, *Centula. Saint-Riquier*, 1912, figs. 1 and 2. We have no evidence on whether the two towers at Chartres contained bells, but it seems probable that the southwest one did so. A free-standing tower of this kind would have had little reason for existence except to house bells. In the case of Saint-Riquier, there is hardly any doubt that the great eastern tower included a belfry. Effmann's analysis of the documentary evidence seems quite conclusive on the point (*op.cit.*, p. 108). Apart from such Carolingian and early Romanesque views of towers which are clearly connected with churches, there exist a number of contemporary representations of towers completely isolated from any other building. Although less relevant as evidence, this independent type seems to confirm our general conclusions. It appears in manuscript illumination and ivory



1. Drawing of Chartres Cathedral (from an eleventh century manuscript) and modern interpretation



2. Carolingian church of Saint-Riquier (based on eleventh century drawing)



3. Church of Saint-Lubin at Suèvres (late tenth century)



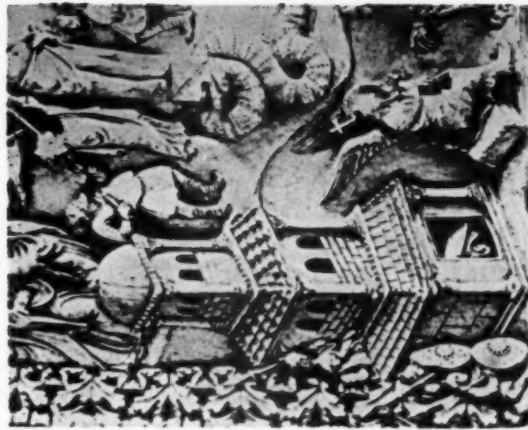
4. Funerary monument of the Julii, St. Rémy (Roman)



5. Ivory in Bavarian National Museum, Munich (fifth century)



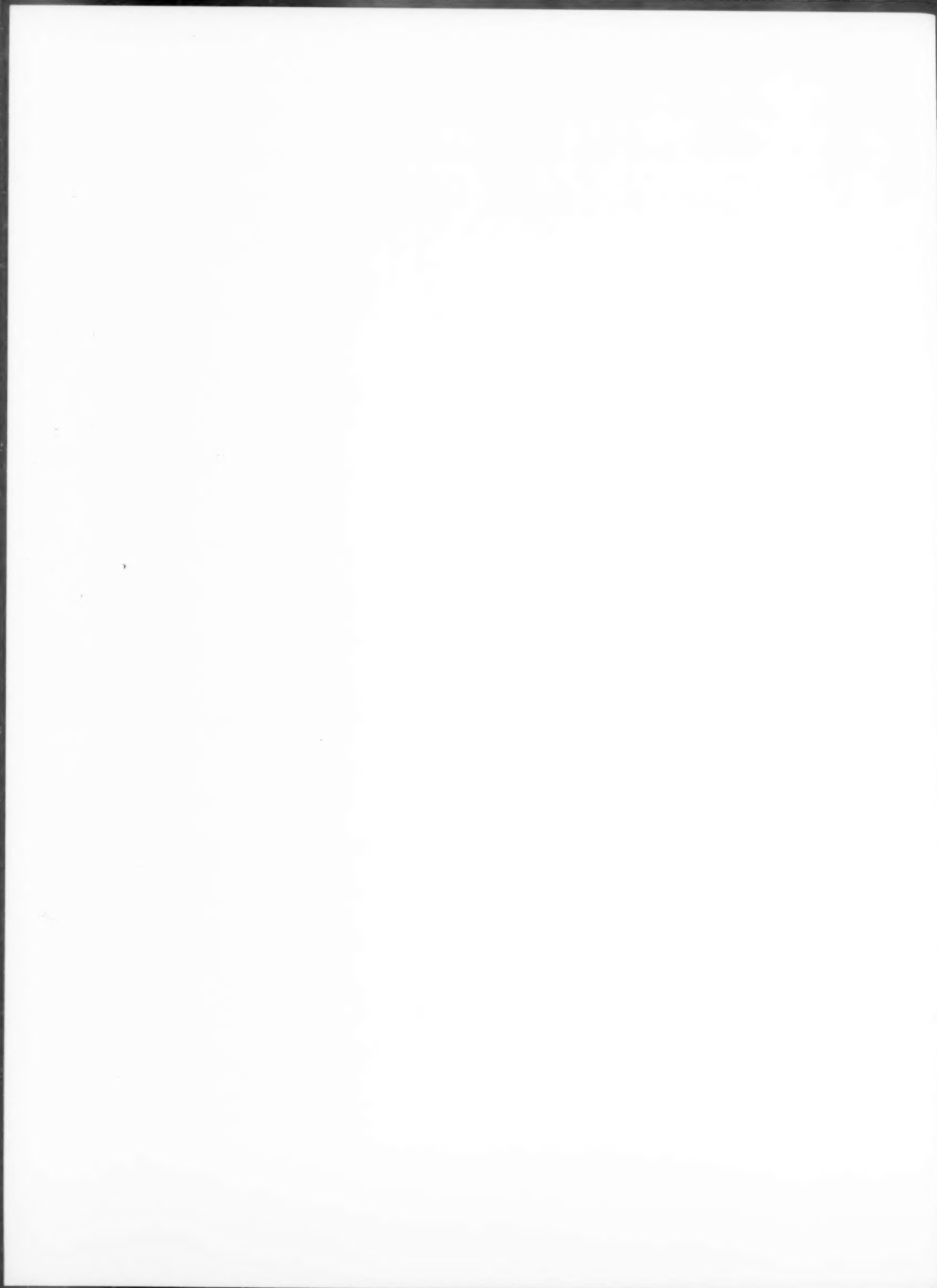
6. Detail from fol. 8r of Utrecht Psalter (early ninth century)



7. Ivory in State Library, Munich (ca. 870)



8. Ivory in National Museum, Florence (ca. 1050-1100)



In the first place it is noteworthy that numerous references in documents of the Carolingian period indicate the general prevalence of bells and bell-towers on churches. Therefore Chartres and Saint-Riquier would not have been exceptional in having such features. Moreover, there is evidence to show that the bells were still apt to be placed above the sanctuary of the church, as they had been in the Merovingian example at Brioude (n. 4), and that a belfry might be found in combination with a lantern tower at the crossing, just as these elements may have been combined in the Merovingian churches at Nantes and at Clermont.⁸

Not only do contemporary documents have a general value as indicating the prevalence of the Carolingian bell-tower and the ordinary practice of placing it above the sanctuary or crossing of a church and combining it with a lantern, but also the written narratives and descriptions of the period add many details as to its specific forms and structural principles. One such description of a tenth century tower near Saumur has been preserved. It specifies that "the four stone walls were of the same height [i.e., the tower had a square or oblong base], above which, in a lofty structure of timbers, great bells of appropriate size were hanging."⁹ Also there is an account of the construction of a tower at St. Wandrille in Normandy, written between 807 and 833, which says that the abbot "ordered a square pyramid thirty-five feet high, made of wooden joinery, to be placed on the top of the tower of the same church; he ordered it to be covered with lead, tin, and gilded copper, and he set three bells therein; for this structure was previously too modest."¹⁰ From these two documents we derive an impression which is quite in accord with our views of Saint-Riquier and Chartres, namely that a Carolingian belfry was a tapering wooden construction of very large size. In a third document, which describes the building of a somewhat earlier tower above the crossing of a church, we read that "a beam was sought which was to be erected vertically [and] on which the entire load of the pyramid and the roof of the whole structure could support itself by means of joists." This statement reveals an important detail of construction. It indicates that these wooden towers might be framed around a central mast or king-post. Moreover, the same writer, like the two previous ones, indicates the great height of such a belfry; for he notes that a beam big enough to serve as the king-post was only found when an enormous plane tree drifted down the Seine, under Divine guidance.¹¹ A fourth narrative, written in about 860, conveys the same idea of tremendous size,

carving and usually represents a tomb, frequently the tomb of Christ. Its form is sometimes extraordinarily reminiscent of the church belfries we are investigating. See Fig. 6 (from pl. XIII in E. T. DeWald, *Utrecht Psalter*, 1932), Fig. 7 (from fig. 41 on pl. XX in A. Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karol. u. sächsischen Kaiser. VIII-XI. Jahrh.*, vol. I, 1914), and Fig. 8 (from fig. 162 on pl. XLVI in *ibid.*, vol. II).

8. For general references to bells and bell-towers in the Carolingian period, see Von Schlosser, *op.cit.*, *passim*; O. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Die Kunst des X. Jahrhunderts im Lichte der Schriftquellen*, 1935, pp. 52-62; pp. 80-85 in Hubert, *op.cit.*; Egger, *op.cit.*; E. von Sommerfeld, "Westbau der Palastkapelle Karls des Grossen," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIX, 1906, pp. 195-222 and 310-325. As to the placing of bells above a sanctuary, Dr. Panofsky has called my attention to a passage which describes an alleged miracle in the abbey of Saint-Denis in the year 754. It contains the following sentence: "fui sicut in oratione in ecclesia eiusdem beati martyris subtus campanas, et vidi ante altare bonum pastorem domnum Petrum et magistrum gentium domnum Paulum" ("I was just in prayer beneath the bells in the church of this same blessed martyr, and I saw before the altar the good shepherd St. Peter and the master of the gentiles St. Paul"). This account appears in the "Revelatio" of Pope Stephan II (M. Buchner, *Das Vizepapsttum des Abtes von St. Denis*, Paderborn, 1928, pp. 250ff.). A notable fact about the passage is that the miracle is reported to have occurred *subtus campanas* rather than *in choro*, etc., thereby indicating the importance of the bells, which served as a basic point of reference in the church. A comparable example is found at Saint-Riquier itself. As noted

above, its great eastern tower included a belfry. Moreover, that same tower was also a lantern, if we may judge by the windows apparently indicated around its base (Fig. 2). At least there is little doubt that the crossing tower of the early ninth century oratory at Germigny-des-Prés is to be classed as a lantern tower. Also it seems to have been surmounted by a belfry, as originally built. An early account of the building mentions the dedicatory inscription in the *turris de qua signa pendeabant* (*Mon. Germ. histor., poet. Lat.*, I, 1881, p. 1556 n. 3). Since such an inscription would surely have been placed in the main body of the church, and not in some extraneous structure, we can assume that the central crossing tower itself is meant, and not merely an adjacent tower (cf. J. Hubert, "Germigny-des-Prés," *Congrès archéologique*, 1930, pp. 536 and 548).

9. "Quatuor unius altitudinis erant maceriae, super quas, in alta fabrica lignorum signa majora congruentis magnitudinis dependebant." This is part of the description of the abbey of Saint-Florent, built between 956 and 985 (V. Mortet, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture . . . en France, au moyen âge. XI-XII s.*, 1911, p. 16).

10. "In eadem autem s. Petri basilica pyramidam quadrangulam altitudinis 35 ped., de ligno tornatili compositam, in culmine turris eiusdem ecclesiae collocari iussit; quam plumbo, stagno ac cupro deaurato cooperiri iussit, triaque ibidem signa posuit; nam antea nimis humile hoc opus erat" (*Gesta abb. Fontanell.*, 807-33; no. 870 in Von Schlosser, *op.cit.*).

11. "Nam cum totius fere templi fabrica sumtu eximio consummata esset, et turris in media basilica sublimiori aedificaretur opere, quaerebatur trabes, quae in altitudine erigenda erat, in qua omne pyramidis pondus et totius culmen oneris [operis?]

since the writer remarks that the length of the belfry, as it rested on the ground, was equal to the height of the church on which it was to be placed. "And no wonder," he says, "for the 'three-decker' tower [*tristegum*], as we say colloquially, had been constructed with bell-peals of three tripods, except for the uppermost peal." From this we gather that a three-storied tower, like the one at Saint-Riquier, was of such a familiar type that it had a special name, *tristegum*, and we learn that there were peals of bells in each of its three stories, the two lower peals being so large that they required triple tripods for support. Moreover, our informant goes on to give us structural details as to how the three stories were built. He notes that "the uppermost wheel [*rota*], on which the joists and flooring for the [top] bell peal were to be set and affixed, was fastened together by jointing" around a central post. In other words, the top story of such a tower, and by implication the other two stories also, consisted of a circular cage fastened like a wheel to the central king-post which ran up through the midst.¹² Apparently it was usual to decorate the cages with arcades, as indicated by the drawings of Saint-Riquier and Chartres and by the description of an eighth century tower on which "four times six decorative arches, joined below and above, mount upward." As noted above, the roof surfaces might be sheathed with lead, tin, or copper gilt, until the lofty summits gleamed [*celsaque fastigia micant*] to such an extent that, on one occasion, Hungarian marauders mistook the copper sheathing of such a tower for gold and tried to tear it off.¹³

We may now sum up the results of our documentary evidence, both visual and verbal. A Carolingian belfry was an enormous tapering wooden structure composed of several circular bell housings which were hung from a central king-post, and these bell housings were ringed with decorative arcades and were separated from each other by roofs of conoidal form. At Saint-Riquier the supporting lantern tower was round, while at Chartres the base was square like that which carried the tower of Saint-Florent near Saumur.¹⁴

Apart from such details, however, our evidence shows a general underlying principle of tower design. Thus, a Carolingian belfry was not conceived as an extension of the stone cylinder or box below but as a part of the tapering roof above. In fact, it was merely an elaboration of this roof and

tignis inniti posset suis," etc. (*Mirac. s. Wandregisili*, in *Mon. Germ. hist.*, xv, p. 407). This account was written before the middle of the ninth century, and it pertains to a church rebuilt between 753 and 787 (*ibid.*).

12. "Sed et turrile ipsius, licet noviter esset superpositum, quia antiquo more erat factum, deposuerunt et aliud mirae magnitudinis mirabilisque fabricae studuerunt aedificare, cuius longitudo consistentis in terra aequabat altitudinem culminis ecclesiae, cui superponendum erat. Nec mirum, tristegum enim (ut vulgariter loquamur) trium tripodum ordinibus factum fuerat, excepta summa claxendice. . . . Itaque ecclesiae superposito et erecto, per singulasque compagine iuncto, cum tholus pomifer in edito una cum triumphali signo crucis erigeretur, ac in gyro eiusdem stipitis superrima rota, ubi hastulae et tabulae praeatae claxendicis superinniti ac configi debuerant, humerando copularetur . . ." ("But also they took down its [i.e. the church's] tower, although it had been set up recently, because it was made according to the old style, and applied themselves to building another one of amazing size and wonderful construction, whose length as it rested on the ground equalled the height of the roof-top of the church on which it was to be set up. And no wonder, for the "three-decker" tower (as we say colloquially) had been constructed with bell peals of three tripods, except for the uppermost peal. . . . Therefore, after it had been set on top of the church and hoisted up, and had been joined together, one fastening at a time, [and] when the cupola [*tholus*], with a ball on its summit, as well as the triumphant symbol of the cross, were raised on the top, and also, round about this same [king-]post, the uppermost wheel, on which the joists and flooring for the above mentioned bell peal were to be set and affixed, was fastened together by jointing. . . ."). This passage from the *Mirac. s. Bertini* (dated about 860; see

no. 619-620 in von Schlosser, *op.cit.*) implies that the new tower structure was first assembled on the ground and then hoisted into position, one part at a time, after which the final fastenings were adjusted. Ducange defines *claxendix* as "supremus ordo campanularum, qui in eminentiori parte campanarii collocari solet, ut in inferiori, majorum campanarum ordo" and cites the above passage; but he notes, as an alternative meaning of the word, that "Claxendix est concha, qua signum tegitur" [i.e. in this sense it would be the equivalent of *tholus* in our passage]. Hence *claxendix*, as applied to the upper peal of bells, may have been transferred from *claxendix* in the sense of a domical roof over the bells.

13. "Celsior eminet turris pentagona, quadrangulo emergens fulcro: supragrediens ceteris praeceminet una. Quater sena centra decora inferius superius connexa surgunt, celsaque fastigia micant" ("the five-sided tower soars higher, rising from a four-sided base: mounting above the others [i.e. the neighboring churches], it stands out alone. Four times six decorative arches, joined below and above, mount upward and the lofty summits gleam"). This description of the tower on the church of Notre-Dame at Manlieu is found in the *Vita s. Boniti*, who was bishop of Clermont-Ferrand in the early eighth century (no. 713 in von Schlosser, *op.cit.*; see his note on the reading of *centra* as *cintres*, "arches"). The anecdote about the Hungarians is found on p. 52 in Lehmann-Brockhaus, *op.cit.*

14. The transition from square base to round spire appears to have been managed at Chartres by simply laying rafters radially from the circular foot of the spire to the square base below it and letting the roof surface conform to the indeterminate shape (a pyramid warped toward a cone) which resulted from the position of the rafters.

would, therefore, be more properly described as a bell-spire than a bell-tower. It was a masterpiece of the roofer's art. Essentially it resembled the light and elegant belfries on our own colonial churches in New England much more than the massive stone belfries of the Romanesque period. If we may judge by the views of Saint-Riquier and Chartres, a bell spire of this sort possessed a slender élan as a result of its tapering silhouette, which was very different from the massively convex outline so characteristic of Romanesque stone spires.¹⁵

While all the foregoing historical information is useful as suggesting in a general way the type of tower which might have been designed to surmount a crossing like that of St. Martin's in the tenth century, such indications do not provide us with the specific proportions and dimensions required to complete our restoration drawing of it. These must be derived from the basic design of St. Martin's itself. Fortunately its design does have certain implications of size and geometric system which can be extrapolated vertically into the general tower scheme in such a way as to fix within reasonable limits the dimensions and proportions it was probably intended to have. In the first place, we are entitled to assume that a belfry with a base as large as the crossing of St. Martin's, whose shortest side almost attains to ten meters, was intended to be three stories high and to carry a peal of bells on each of its three floors, or, to use the language of the texts, that it was to be a *tristegum* which supported an *ordo* of bells on each of its *rotae*. As to the actual heights, proportions, and relations of these three stories, we may assume that the system of equilateral triangles which apparently governed the design of the cross-section of the church below would also have been carried on up into the design of the tower above.¹⁶ Obviously, there are a number of ways of carrying up such an elastic geometric system, depending on the manner of its application. However, the development shown in *text figure e* seems to be reasonable and in conformity with the general impression derived from the texts and views previously examined. In *text figure c* the vertical dimensions have been transferred to the side elevation of the church. If the result of our geometrical experiment looks enormous beyond belief and very unstable, we may recall the constant emphasis placed by contemporary documents on the great size of these Carolingian towers. We have previously noted one such account where the writer specifically states that the tower's length as it rested on the ground "equaled the height of the rooftop of the church on which it was to be set up." The same is true of our restoration of St. Martin's, within a margin of four feet. No doubt such airy pinnacles actually were unstable. We have, in fact, a vivid account, written in 1091, which describes the mighty efforts and arguments required to get one of them back on its footings after a windstorm had canted it to one side.¹⁷

15. In spite of the obvious differences between Carolingian and Romanesque bell-towers, it is possible to find evidence of a continuous development which links the two periods. In certain of the later stone examples there are clear traces of the older wooden forms. A striking example is the tower on the church of Saint-Lubin at Suèvres (Fig. 3), which is attributed to the end of the tenth century (G. Plat, "Suèvres" in *Congrès archéologique*, LXXXVIII, 1925, pp. 519-524). It has two sloping glacis, corresponding to its floor levels, and is crowned by a tall stone pyramid. Such a tower seems to represent a transposition into stone of the old wooden spire with its stories separated from each other by sloping sections of roofing. Due to the limitations of masonry construction, the composition has necessarily been subdued to a compact pile of boxlike rooms rather than a lofty series of round bell housings, and the broad roof slopes which originally separated the bell housings have been reduced to mere narrow glacis. Yet the derivation of these small offsets from the carpentry forms of a wooden roof is attested by the fact that the masonry glacis at Saint-Lubin is actually covered with tiles, which were normally used as sheathing for a wooden structure (p. 517 in Plat, *op.cit.*). Likewise its pyramid suggests a wooden *turritus apex*. Other comparable Romanesque towers are found in the Limousin,

where they constitute a prevalent type (R. Fage, "Le clocher Limousin à l'époque romane," in *Bull. mon.*, LXXI, 1907, pp. 263-286; *idem*, "Petites églises . . . du Limousin," *Bulletin archéologique du comité*, 1920, pp. 383-389), and, above all, on the church of Saint-Front at Périgueux whose lofty spire even retains the crowning dome, or *tholus*.

16. Evidence for the use of such a system in the design of St. Martin's will be presented in our forthcoming book on the church. The system does not appear to have been used primarily for aesthetic or symbolic reasons but as a practical device for determining vertical dimensions directly from the ground plan and without any need for a scale drawing.

17. "Venti turbine campanarium ecclesiae Sancti Petri evulsum est a suis cardinibus, et supra tectum turris in qua stabat versus orientem projectum, ita ut per sex dies et noctes cerne-retur pendulum quasi semper esset ruiturum" ("The bell-cage of the church of St. Peter was wrenched from its fastenings by a gust of wind and thrown over toward the east above the roof of the tower on which it used to stand, so that for six days and nights it was seen hanging as if it were always just about to crash"). There follows a lively description of the summoning of architects, the offering of prize-money, the professional arguments as to procedure [*multimoda artis argumenta*] and

Now that we have derived a possible form for the Carolingian tower at St. Martin's, we may ask whether it was intended solely as an aesthetic feature of the design or whether it had a symbolic significance as well. There is reason to believe that a crossing tower of this sort, rising above the sanctuary of a church, actually was meant to be a symbol. In all probability it stood as a funerary monument commemorating the treasured fragment of St. Martin's body which was entombed at the altar beneath. If so, it continued the tradition of the *memoria* or *martyrium* and, ultimately, of an ancient type of commemorative monument and tomb. We have already noted that in the Carolingian and early Romanesque periods there was a tendency to think of tomb structures as having the shape of a tower very much like the one we have conjectured for St. Martin's (Figs. 6-8 and note 7); and this funerary connotation of the form can be traced back into the Merovingian period. We may recall that in the sixth century Fortunatus referred to the superstructure of the Nantes cathedral tower as a *crista*. At that time the term could equally well signify the ornamental apex of a funerary monument (Ducange, *s.v. crista*). Moreover Fortunatus' description of the tower as square below and round above certainly recalls the Paleochristian example shown in Figure 5. It in turn is reminiscent of ancient Roman funerary monuments (Fig. 4).¹⁸

In conclusion two points deserve emphasis. The tower which we have imagined as a possibility at St. Martin's in the tenth century would have unified the entire design of the building by providing a vertical axis around which the choir arm and the two transept arms would have clustered, after the fashion of a central type of building. Secondly, this tower, and perhaps the whole centralized group around it, may well have had the symbolic significance of a tomb, like a great architectural reliquary. If so, the tower would have been the most important feature of the church, both as to form and expressive content.

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the work carried on far into the night, until finally "power descended from heaven in a fiery apparition and actually replaced the bell-cage firmly on its footings" [*advenit virtus de caelo in visione ignis, et campanarium quidem suis sedibus firmissime relocavit*]. This passage concerns the abbey of Saint-Pierre d'Oudenbourg, near Bruges, and is quoted on p. 174 of Mortet, *op.cit.*

18. With regard to the funerary iconography of early mediaeval architecture, and especially of centralized or tower-like structures, see R. Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, v, 1942, pp. 26-33; also A. Grabar, *Martyrium*, 1946.

A CHRONOLOGY OF ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE IN CAMPANIA¹

CARL D. SHEPPARD, JR.

THE chronology of Romanesque sculptural monuments in Campania has been complicated and obscured by the acceptance of a thirteenth century date for all the sculptures of the pulpit of the Cathedral of Sta. Maria Annunziata and S. Pietro at Sessa Aurunca and by the acceptance of a twelfth century date for the stylistically related sculptures of the pulpits of the Cathedral of St. Matthew at Salerno. The general tendency of the literature concerning these monuments is to minimize the importance of Salerno as a point of reference in favor of Sessa Aurunca.² The result is that most of the mediaeval sculpture in Campania has been considered as the product of the thirteenth century. The classical quality of these sculptures has been regarded as a reflection of the personal taste of the great Hohenstaufen ruler of southern Italy, Frederick II.

A reexamination of the documentary and stylistic evidence involved in this problem was undertaken. A new chronology emerged which demonstrated a gradual development of a specific style through the twelfth century, culminating in the work carried out for Frederick II at Capua and Castel del Monte. These famous works stand, therefore, not in isolation, but at the end of a long tradition. The indigenous Campanian style began in the early twelfth and was submerged only in the late thirteenth century by the Gothic style preferred by the Angevin conquerors of the southern kingdom.

The region in which this style developed roughly conformed to the ancient province of Campania, extending along the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy from Terracina to Salerno, including the Amalfi peninsula and stretching inland as far as Benevento. Economically the country's prosperity depended on agriculture and maritime commerce. The flourishing cities were customarily perched for protection on craggy mountains dominating the olive orchards and tilled fields of the coastal plains below, or on rocky precipices overhanging protected harbors. Culturally the area derived its artistic forms in the eleventh century from Byzantium and the Lombard courts at Benevento, Salerno, and Capua. In sculpture the result was a very provincial adaptation of metropolitan prototypes, carved roughly to make a two-dimensional design (Fig. 1). At the end of the eleventh century this style diminished in importance and disappeared in the early years of the twelfth century.

There was a second cultural strain in the eleventh century which continued during the twelfth along a course parallel to that of the classicizing style. It has been singled out and thoroughly investigated, particularly by W. F. Volbach, who characterized it through its dominant oriental quality.³ The monuments which evidence this style, transennae and other ornamental plaques, are purely decorative, avoid the human figure, tend to use patterns taken from Byzantine or Sassanian textiles, and are carved with a summary reduction of planes to emphasize a flat, linear pattern. They

1. The research for this article was made possible by a Faculty Research Grant from the Horace H. Rackham Foundation of the University of Michigan for the summer, 1949.

2. H. W. Schultz, *Denkmaeler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, 3 vols. and Atlas, Dresden, 1860, ed. by F. von Quast; E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, Paris, 1903; A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. III, Milan, 1904; W. F. Volbach, "Ein antikisierendes Bruchstück von einer kampanischen Kanzel in Berlin," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen*

Kunstsammlungen, LIII, 1932, pp. 183-197; *idem*, "Sculptura medioevale della Campania," *Rendiconti della Pontificale Accademia Romanica d'Archeologia*, XII, 1936, pp. 81-104; *idem*, "Oriental Influences in Animal Sculpture of Campania," *ART BULLETIN*, XXIV, 1942, pp. 172-180; P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, II, Turin, 1927.

3. Volbach, "Sculptura medioevale della Campania," and "Oriental Influences in Animal Sculpture of Campania." This style undoubtedly took most of its elements from the provincial Byzantine milieu in which it developed.

never have motifs taken directly from a classical prototype and only gradually through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did they gain the effect of plasticity.

Until the middle of the thirteenth century in Campania, sculpture was used mainly to decorate the interiors of churches, embellishing capitals, choir screens, pulpits, altars, and paschal candlesticks. Only occasionally are doorways carved and then only the narrow jambs, lintels, and arch moldings receive attention. The style of ecclesiastical buildings erected during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in this region was perhaps responsible for the restricted development of architectural sculpture. The great basilica of St. Benedict at Monte Cassino, built in the latter half of the eleventh century in conscious imitation of the Early Christian basilicas of Rome,⁴ served as a prototype for the many cathedrals built in Campania during the twelfth century. In this type of architecture, sculpture is allotted a very minor decorative role. The customary elements of Constantinian architecture were repeated as well as the specific variations in the plan and elevation of Monte Cassino. Because of a technical difficulty reported by Leo of Ostia, the sanctuary of the basilica of St. Benedict was raised eight steps above the floor of the nave. On the exterior this elevation was clearly marked by the height of the transept, which rose, almost like a separate building, above the forepart of the basilica. These features are found in the following twelfth century churches of Campania and Sicily: Caserta Vecchia, Gaeta, Sessa Aurunca, Minturno, Salerno, Cefalù, and Monreale. Architecturally the region showed a veneration for the antique forms of the earliest years of the Christian era as interpreted at Monte Cassino.

At all the above sites except Cefalù, all the columns and capitals are Roman. Fragments of Roman bas-reliefs were also frequently incorporated into the buildings as in the lintels of S. Giovanni del Toro and the cathedral at Ravello, and the cathedrals at Scala, Sessa Aurunca, and Caserta Vecchia. The sculptors of the pulpits likewise used classical marble fragments in their work. An example of this is the pulpit at Minturno in which Roman columns, capitals, pilaster strips, and decorative panels were used and complemented by the work of the sculptor himself (Fig. 3). The use of actual Roman fragments resulted in the practice of copying Roman sculptural remains. In this regard, Adolfo Venturi mentions the lintel over the portal of the atrium to the cathedral of Salerno, which was copied from the Roman bas-relief over the main entrance to the cathedral.⁵ These are the meager beginnings of the classicizing style of sculpture in Campania. It is only in the medium of sculpture that this style appears. In mosaics, frescoes, and the minor arts, direct and strong contemporary Byzantine or Arabic contacts resulted in far different effects. Except for the region of Tuscany, Campania alone in Italy at this time developed an interest in the antique. The technical ability to serve this interest developed in the south, and the numerous monuments of the region bear witness to the depth of the imprint of Roman art and reveal a consistency of interpretation which can be recognized as an independent and original style. It is marked by the attempt to organize a three-dimensional form plastically, by the selection of Roman naturalistic motifs, and by the use of the human figure decoratively or symbolically.

The following is a list of the sculptural monuments of this style dated by inscription or documentary evidence:

Lintel, entrance to atrium, cathedral of Salerno, 1076-1085⁶

Epistolary pulpit, cathedral of Ravello, 1095-1150⁷

Pulpit, Sta. Trinità, La Cava, 1147-1170⁸

4. K. J. Conant, *Early Church Architecture*, Baltimore, 1942, p. 7.

5. Venturi, *op.cit.*, pp. 533-534, figs. 500, 501, and 502.

6. Schultz, *op.cit.*, II, p. 282, inscription on the architrave: DUX ET IORDAN DIGNUS PRINCEPS CAPUANUS REGNENT ETERNUM CUM GENTE COLENTE SALERNUM. Salerno fell to Robert Guiscard in 1076; he, the Duke, died in 1085.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 273, inscriptions on pulpit: [Sic Constan]TINUS

CONSTRUXIT PRESUL OPIMUS and SIC CONSTANTINUS MONET ET TE PASTOR OUINUS, ISTUD OPUS CARUM QUI FECIT MARMORE CLARUM. Bishop Constantinus Rogadeus was the incumbent from 1094 to 1150.

8. Inscription on pulpit: ABBAS CUI DONET VITAM SINE FINE HOC OPUS FACTUM TE PRECIPIENT MARINE. Abbot Marino was the incumbent from 1146 to 1170 (*Descrizione storico-artistica illustrata*, Badia di Cava, Salerno, 1927, p. 7). The

Epistolary pulpit, cathedral of Salerno, 1153-1181⁹

Evangelary pulpit, cathedral of Salerno, 1175¹⁰

Cloister, cathedral of Monreale, 1172-1189¹¹

Parts of pulpit, cathedral of Sessa Aurunca, 1224-1259 and 1259-1283¹²

Decoration of fortified gate, Capua, 1233-1240¹³

Fragments of a pulpit and paschal candlestick, cathedral of Sessa Aurunca, 1259-1283¹⁴

Evangelary pulpit, cathedral of Ravello, 1272¹⁵

These are the dates of the monuments which have served as material for the establishment of a chronology. Unfortunately, they must be used very cautiously. With the exception of the evangelary pulpit in the cathedral of Ravello, the candlestick at Sessa Aurunca, the decorations of the Capua gate, the lintel at Salerno, and the cloister at Monreale, all the monuments have been restored or rearranged at some time. The pulpit at Sessa Aurunca, for instance, represents at least three different periods of work—before Bishop Pandolfo, under Pandolfo, and under Bishop Giovanni. The pulpit at La Cava had been so completely dismantled that H. W. Schultz in the mid-nineteenth century did not even mention it in his account of the monastery. Since that time, it has been reassembled twice.

A study of the iconography of Campanian monuments offers very little additional information on their chronological sequence. The decorations of the Campanian pulpits, the most extensive series of monuments having sculpture, show the continual use of the same subject matter through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These symbolic and purely decorative reliefs can be divided into groups depending upon what part of the pulpits they decorate. The two scenes of Jonah swallowed and regurgitated by the whale were always placed on the walls of the stairs to the pulpit. They are depicted in mosaic on the pulpits at the cathedral and at S. Giovanni del Toro at Ravello; in sculpture at Minturno, Sessa Aurunca, and Gaeta. These examples show the presence of the subject from the early twelfth to the late thirteenth century. Actually the scenes were formulated in the eleventh century before the classicizing style began, but they continued to be used during the whole life of the style.

Prophets and an occasional sibyl appear in the spandrels of the arches supporting the pulpits. Three prophets and a sibyl occur on the Sessa Aurunca pulpit. A sibyl and a prophet were on the now dismantled pulpit from the cathedral of Scala. A fragment from the pulpit at the cathedral of

pulpit was restored in 1880 (*ibid.*, p. 12) and again during the 1930's.

9. Schultz, *op.cit.*, p. 290, inscription on pulpit: ROMOALD' SECUND' SALERNITAN' ARCHIEPISCOPUS PRECEPIT FIERI HOC OP'. Archbishop Romualdo II was the incumbent from 1153 to 1181.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 291, inscriptions on the evangelary pulpit: ANNO DOMINICAE INCARNATIONIS MCLXXV IND. XIV TEMPORE MAGNIFICENTISSIMI DOMINI WLLIELMI GLORIOSISSIMI REGIS SICILIE DUCATUS APULIE PRINCIPATUS CAPUE MATTHEUS ILLUSTRIS VICECANCELLARIUS EIUSDEM DOMINI REGIS MAGNUS CIVIS SALERNI FECIT HOC OPUS FIERI AD HONOREM DEI ET APOSTOLI MATTHEI; and a later inscription: UT TEMPLO DECUS ADDERET GREGORIUS CARAFA SUGGESTUM HUNC E MARMORE ERIGI IUSSIT(?), QUI EUDEM UT AUTHOREM SIC PRIMUM HABUISSE GLORIATUR PRAECONEM IPSO VIRGINIS ASSUMPTAE IN COELUM DIE ANNO MDCLXIX.

11. C. D. Sheppard, "Monreale and Chartres," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, June, 1949, pp. 401-414.

12. Schultz, *op.cit.*, p. 149, inscriptions on pulpit: HOC OPUS EST STUDIO PANDULFI PRESULIS ACTUM, QUEM LOCET IN PROPRIO REGNO VERBUM CARO FACTUM, and HOC PRIUS INCEPTUM PANDULFUS PRESUL AD APTUM. FINEM PERDUXIT, CUI CELICA CONCIO DUX—, and HOC OPUS A PATRIBUS CEPTUM IAM PLURIBUS ANNIS PRAESULIS EXPLEVIT PROBITAS MEMORANDA IOHANNIS. Giovanni was bishop from 1259 to 1283.

Pandolfo was bishop from 1224 to 1259.

13. Bertaux, *op.cit.*, pp. 707ff., and C. Shearer, *The Renaissance of Architecture in Southern Italy*, Cambridge, 1935, pp. 11ff.

14. Schultz, *op.cit.*, p. 147, inscriptions on choir enclosure: EX HIIS CANCELLIS EXCLUSIS, PETRE, PROCELLIS UT LOCUS ISTE NITET, SIC PER TE SORDIDA VITET, and LAUDE TUA, PETRE, SCULTUM DE SCEMATE PETRE PRAESULIS EST ANNIS OPUS HOC INSIGNE IOHANNIS, and QUI FAMA FULXIT, OPUS HOC IN MAR-MORE SCULPSIT NOMINE TADDEUS, CUI MISERERE, DEUS. Bishop Giovanni was the incumbent from 1259 to 1283; and Schultz, *op.cit.*, p. 148, inscriptions on the paschal candle-stick: PULCRA COLUMPNA NITE DANS NOBIS LUMINA VITE, and HOC OPUS EST MAGNE LAUDIS FACIENTE IOHANNE, and MUNERE DIVINO DECUS ET LAUS SIT PEREGRINO TALIA QUI SCULPSIT; OPUS EIUS UBIQUE REFULXIT.

15. Schultz, *op.cit.*, p. 271, inscriptions over entrance to pulpit: VIRGINIS ISTUD OPUS RUFULUS NICOLAUS AMORE, VIR SICLIGAYTE, PATRIEQ' DICAVIT HONORE. EST MATHEUS AB HIIS, URSO, IACOBUS QUOQ' NATUS, MAURUS ET A PRIMO LAURENCIUS EST GENERATUS. HOC TIBI SIT GRATUM, PIA VIRGO, PRECAREQ' NATUM, UT POST ISTA BONA DET EIS CELESTIA DONA. LAPSI MILLENIS BIS CENTUM BISQ' TRICENIS XPI. BISSENNIS ANNIS AB ORIGINE PLENIS. and EGO MAGISTER NICOLAUS DE BARTHOLOMEO DE FOGIA MARMORARIUS HOC OPUS FECI.

Capua showing a prophet was in the floor of the cathedral.¹⁶ The epistolary pulpit at Salerno also has two prophets, identified by inscriptions as Jeremiah and Isaiah. These spandrel figures are not developed in any special scheme but appear sometimes in pairs as at Sessa Aurunca, or accompanied by a symbol of the evangelists, as on the epistolary pulpit at Salerno, which has two prophets carved on one side, the symbols of St. Matthew and St. John on another, while the third side is blank. At times, figures of symbolic import are placed next to purely decorative ones such as the caryatids and atlantids of the pulpits at Sessa Aurunca and Salerno. The sculptors evidently were interested in filling their areas with attractive rather than symbolic subjects.

The most prevalent symbol used was the eagle of St. John, which normally supports the lectern on its wings. In two instances a man robed in a tunic stands below the eagle and holds up a book with the words "In principio erat verbum." At Sessa Aurunca and at Salerno, on the evangelary pulpit, male figures, nude except for a breech clout, support the eagle. Their bodies are entwined by a serpent to represent in all probability the voraciousness of evil. Under the projection of the lectern platforms of the pulpits at San Giovanni del Toro, Ravello, and on the epistolary pulpit at Salerno are reliefs with the heavily bearded head of an aged man. There is a similar fragment in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.¹⁷

Paschal candlesticks usually have at least one relief referring to the easter ceremonies, but they invariably have much more merely decorative carving including human figures. In only two instances is a narrative series of scenes developed: the archivolt of the main portal of the cathedral at Sessa Aurunca, which shows episodes from the life of St. Peter with the Labors of the Months, and the two large marble plaques in a chapel of Sta. Restituta adjoining the cathedral of Naples.¹⁸ These two plaques might once have served as chancel screens or as a part of an altar. They have scenes from the life of Samson and from the story of Joseph in Egypt. Single panels are also devoted to St. George, St. Demetrius, St. Theodore, and St. Placidius.

This exhausts the list of subjects which occur throughout the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. No information about chronology can be gleaned from them besides the general knowledge that, except for the Jonah scenes, they appear and disappear with the classic style of the region and should be identified with it. They do, however, point to a lack of interest in theological symbolism, which is therefore a characteristic of these monuments.

A stylistic analysis of the sculpture of Campania and Sicily offers the most compelling evidence for a chronological sequence and helps in the interpretation of the few pertinent documents to survive. Except for the architrave at Salerno (1076-1085), the earliest monument to have sculpture in the classic style of Campania which has survived in an unaltered condition is probably the evangelary pulpit at Salerno (Fig. 2). By establishing the stylistic characteristics of these carvings, the point of development of the classic style reached by 1175 can be determined. There are two types of sculpture which belong to the pulpit: the column capitals, and the almost free-standing statues attached to the pulpit railing. The capitals are patterned after Roman Corinthian and composite examples. Although according to Romanesque taste for variety each one is different, all are treated to produce a definite plastic effect. The acanthus leaves are placed on the surface of the inverted bell shape and project outward from it, catching the light on their surfaces in a way that produces soft transitions from highlight to deep shadow. These plant forms are the most naturally treated of all the motifs that appear. The small, seminude human figures that decorate one of the capitals and the confronted birds that are used on two other examples are sculptured with less facility in regard to detail of modeling. They have a greater solidity of mass, emphasized by the few surface planes

16. Bertaux, *op.cit.*, fig. 272. The cathedral at Capua was so damaged during World War II that the author was unable to ascertain if the fragment was still intact in the floor.

17. Volbach, "Ein antikisierendes Bruchstück von einer kampanischen Kanzel in Berlin," pp. 190ff. Volbach explains

this head as symbolizing evil dominated by the Gospel which is read above it. He tends to interpret all the pulpit sculptures on the basis of the triumph of salvation over evil.

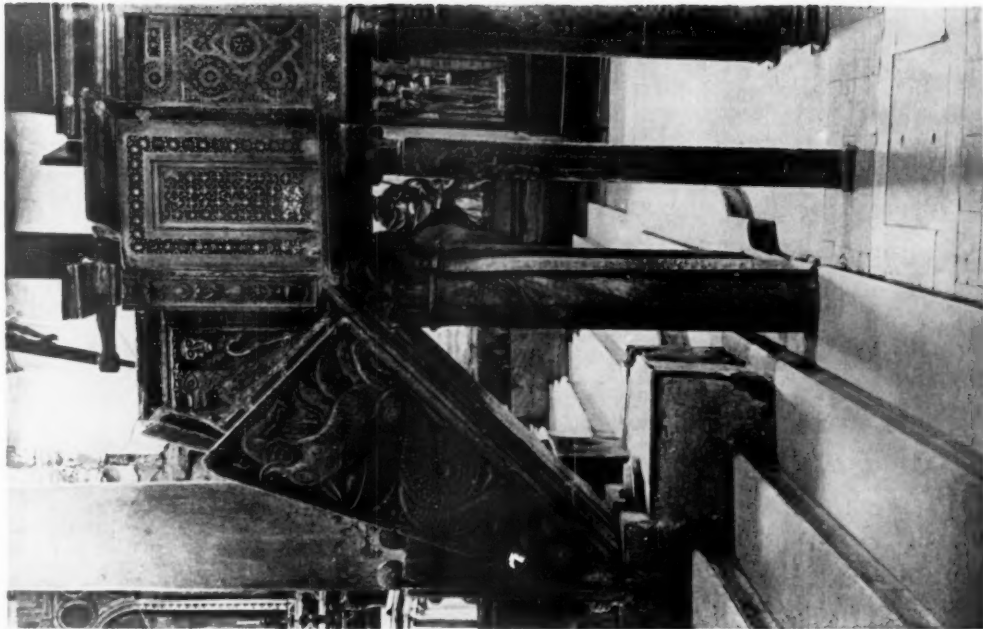
18. *Ibid.*, p. 189. Mention is made of two fragments in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum with scenes of the life of Simon.



1. Atrani, San Salvatore. Marble plaque



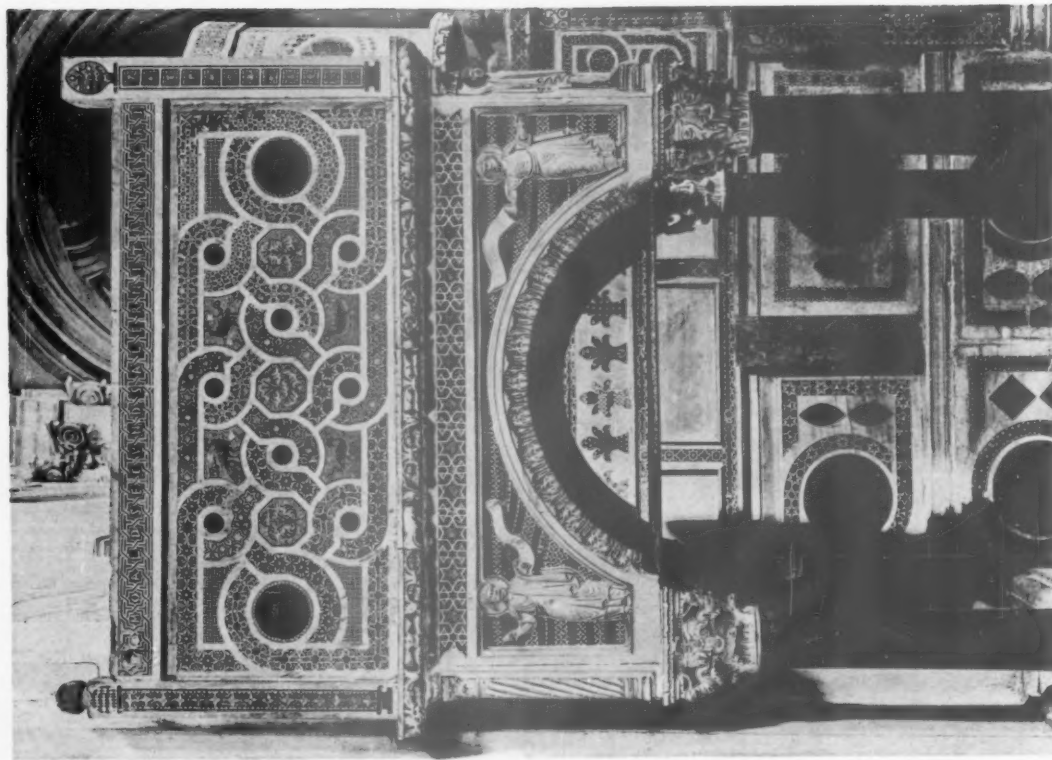
2. Salerno, Cathedral. Evangelary pulpit (photo: Anderson)



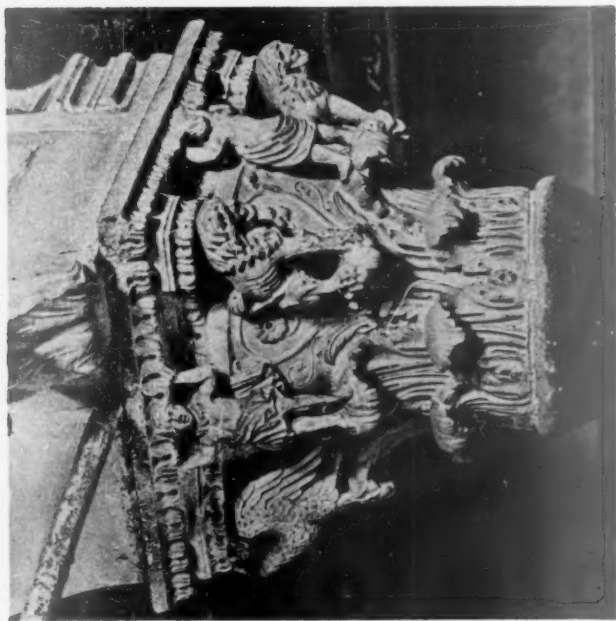
3. Minturno, San Pietro. Pulpit



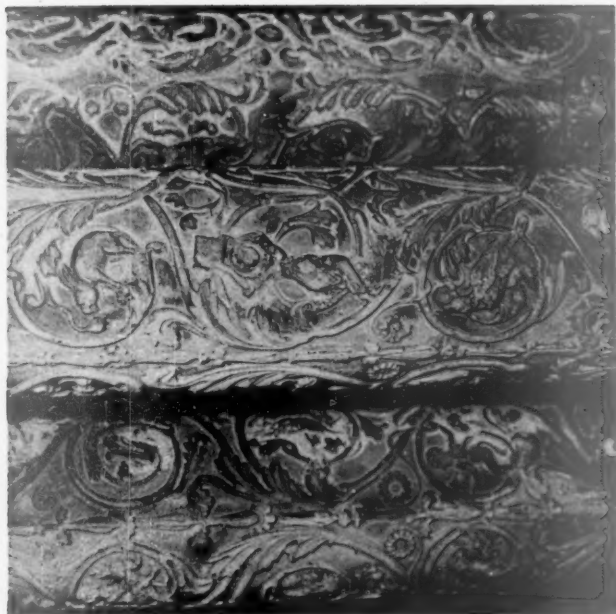
4. Salerno, Cathedral. Evangelary pulpit,
east side, lectern figures



5. Salerno, Cathedral. Epistolary pulpit, west side, detail
(photo: Anderson)



6. Salerno, Cathedral. Epistolary pulpit, capital
(photo: Anderson)



7. Monreale, Benedictine cloister. Colonnettes, southeast corner, detail



8. Monreale, Benedictine cloister. Capitals 97

9. Sessa Aurunca, Cathedral. *Jonah Swallowed by the Whale*



10. Sessa Aurunca, Cathedral. Caryatid, pulpit, northeast corner



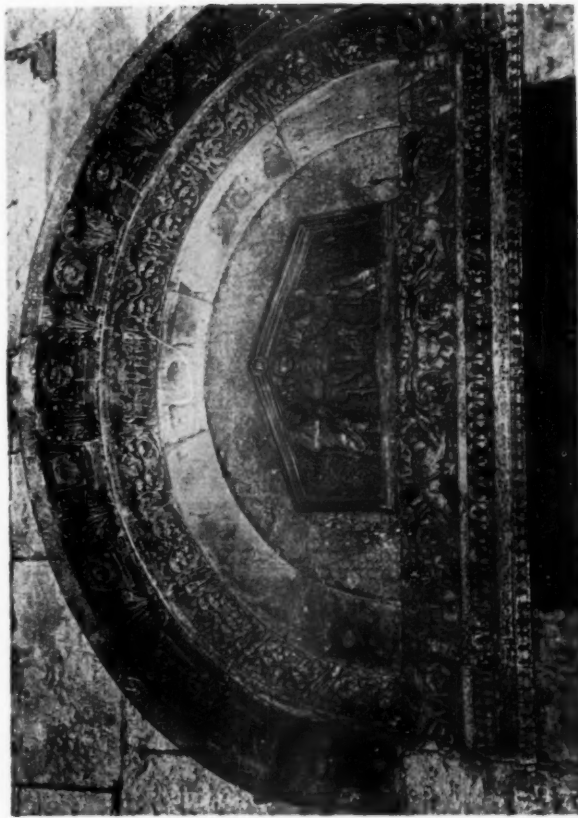
11. Sessa Aurunca, Cathedral. Caryatid, pulpit, northwest corner



12. Sessa Aurunca, Cathedral. Pulpit, west side, detail



13. Sessa Aurunca, Cathedral. Pulpit, capital



14. Sessa Aurunca, Cathedral. Tympanum, main portal



15. Capua, Museum. *Pietro della Vigna*



developed. The use of a drill in the carving of the details of these sculptures imparts a linear quality to them as well as an occasional staccato effect of sharp black and white contrast. Throughout the existence of the Campanian style the drill holes and the linear quality of surface detail remain as elements of technique and style.

On the east side of the pulpit, hidden partially by the Baroque wooden scaffolding of the choir enclosure, are two male figures who hold up a lectern (Fig. 4). These are the most monumental figures to survive in southern Italy, being about two-thirds life size. Each figure is entirely covered by two loosely fitted garments which permitted the sculptor to develop interesting patterns of folds over the bodies. These patterns are similar to late classical stylizations resulting from the translation of an illusionistic style into a linear one. The conventions are particularly apparent in the lower sections of the figures, where a few broad planes are established and enclosed by parallel lines of the drapery folds. Originally, the planes represented the clinging of the garment over the projections of the body, thigh, knee, etc. In this instance these surfaces have little relation to the anatomy beneath. What is important to note here is the amount of plasticity the figures display in spite of the conventions used and the extent to which the artist has dropped these conventions by the variation achieved in the drapery folds. The figures are rather block-like and stiff because of the verticality of their positions and because the sculptor has strongly organized his solids by emphasizing the geometric forms of the bodies. The surfaces of these volumes are not broken up by the drapery folds, which act rather as linear ornamentation. Thus the effect of three-dimensionality is definitely achieved.

The sculpture of the epistolary pulpit (1153-1181) at Salerno reflects the same stylistic elements (Fig. 5). The two acanthid figures, the two prophets, and the decoration of the capitals (Fig. 6) show the same degree of achievement and the same limitations as the lectern figures and the capitals across the nave: the decorative stylizations of the drapery, the linear effect of detail, the emphatic blockiness of mass, and the poor articulation and proportions of the human figures. The sculptures of these two pulpits give ample evidence of the Campanian style as it was practiced at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth quarter of the twelfth century. The style and technique were derived from late Roman bas-reliefs or from objects of the minor arts which reflected the qualities of late antique taste such as Byzantine ivory carvings and manuscripts of the tenth or eleventh centuries. By this time the Campanian sculptors had achieved enough proficiency to copy decorative motifs with a high degree of accuracy if they were developed in bas-relief. For figures more fully in the round, the late twelfth century sculptor emphasized uncomplicated geometric shapes and utilized few surface planes, reducing the natural effect of his product.

The sculptures of the capitals of the cloister attached to the cathedral of Monreale (1172-1189) are very closely related to those of the capitals of the two Salerno pulpits. They, too, are derived from Corinthian and composite prototypes and display the same motifs used at Salerno: the half-nude human figure, vine tendrils and flowers and acanthus leaves (Fig. 8). The technique of carving and the type of composition are the same as at Salerno. In the cloister there is a much greater variety and not all the capitals achieve the excellence of the mainland examples, nor do they all belong to the classic style. Some derive from Byzantine, Arabic, or Northern French prototypes. The delicate carving of the colonnettes grouped in fours at the northeast, southeast, and southwest corners of the cloister represent, however, the extraordinary ability of the sculptors of this period to repeat a classic prototype and they show as well the high degree of understanding they had attained of Roman technique. These shafts are executed in bas-relief with either a grapevine and putti or a candelabra motif developed with acanthus leaves, flower tendrils, blossoms, and human figures disposed in a symmetrical fashion. The shaft which is struck most fully by the light of day has the lowest and softest modeling, whereas the shaft farthest away from the source of light is

much more deeply carved to compensate for its position, showing that the sculptor was aware of the manipulation of light to produce a natural, plastic result (Fig. 7).

The marble plaques with Jonah scenes, now walled into the choir enclosure, and the paschal candlestick at the cathedral of Sessa Aurunca can be securely dated between 1259 and 1283. They are some seventy-five years later than the work at Salerno and Monreale and the style of the figures shows a considerable degree of advance over the earlier carvings. The figure of Jonah about to be swallowed indicates a keen sense of the proportion and articulation of the human figure (Fig. 9) and as a result Jonah is neither stiff nor awkward. He is carved with a technique which has permitted the artist to emphasize the musculature of the body in a highly plastic way. The Campanian style had evolved to the point at which it could portray the human figure as a realistic object.

The pulpit at Sessa Aurunca has three inscriptions, two of which mention the Bishops Pandolfo and Giovanni, who respectively were at the Cathedral from 1224 to 1259 and from 1259 to 1283. Some of the carving on the pulpit was certainly done during these years. The two caryatids and the lectern figure show sufficient stylistic affinity to the Jonah reliefs mentioned above to be considered as thirteenth century in origin (Figs. 10 and 11). No longer are the lithe slender female figures given a confining vertical position, but they have the freedom of the corner triangles in which to move. Drapery is used to enhance the physical qualities of the bodies beneath and the garment folds are not conventionalized but fall in a variegated way which appears visually natural. A comparison between these figures and the atlantids decorating the corners of the epistolary pulpit at Salerno proves the great development reached at Sessa.

The contrast between the lectern figure at Sessa and the similar motif on the evangelary pulpit at Salerno shows the same stylistic changes. At Salerno the half-nude male figure is held stiffly erect against the block from which it has been carved. The frontality and flatness of the figure is emphasized by the manner in which the serpent coils about the man's feet and rises from between his ankles straight upward to sink his fangs into the chest of the victim. At Sessa Aurunca the man sinks down on his knees. This forward projection permitted the sculptor to coil the serpent twice completely around the lower part of the torso. The Sessa figure, besides having a greater spatial freedom, has a well-developed and correct musculature. Generally speaking, the linear surface quality of the Salerno figure has been replaced by greater attention to modeling.

The third inscription on the pulpit at Sessa Aurunca states that Bishop Pandolfo finished a project which had already been started. Some of the pulpit was carved therefore before 1224. The four spandrel figures on the west side of the pulpit, the half-nude male figure on the same side (Fig. 12), and the capitals of the pulpit columns (Fig. 13) were not carved by the same developed technique as the other decorations on the pulpit. The prophet holding the scroll inscribed *ECCE VIR HORIENS NOX*¹⁹ twists completely around in a most inorganic fashion so that his feet come forward, his knee projects to the right, and his shoulders are turned to the left. The drapery folds are linear in treatment, act as surface decoration and do not penetrate the surface of the form. The other figures on the west side and those on the capitals show the same technical handling. The narrow frieze which runs along the base of the pulpit platform is carved in an even flatter, more patterned fashion. These carvings belong to the twelfth and not to the thirteenth century, as a comparison between the half-nude male figure of the Sessa pulpit and the lectern figure at Salerno proves. The similarity of the carving of the capitals of the two Salerno pulpits and of those at Sessa Aurunca is so strong, and the stylistic affinity between the reliefs on the west side of the Sessa pulpit and those of the epistolary pulpit at Salerno is so clear, that there can be no doubt but that they were all executed in the twelfth century. Bishop Pandolfo evidently ordered the pulpit of the cathedral to be thoroughly reorganized and enlarged, making use of the decorations already in existence.

19. Schultz, *op.cit.*, p. 149, reads NOM for NOX.

The twelfth century bas-reliefs were relegated to the west side of the pulpit, where they were not particularly prominent. The half-nude male figure in the center of this side can be explained as originally performing the function of a lectern support.

All authorities agree in seeing a close stylistic relationship between the carved decorations of the pulpit and the architectural sculpture at Sessa Aurunca. The latter consists of the capitals, architraves, and archivolts decorating the porch of the cathedral. Venturi considered these reliefs as belonging to the thirteenth century because of their close relationship to the pulpit sculptures, all of which he accepted as being carved in the thirteenth century.²⁰ Emile Bertaux held the same opinion and to strengthen his position stated that the porch was rebuilt in the thirteenth century.²¹ There is no evidence, however, that such is the case. The cathedral was begun in 1103 and consecrated in 1113.²² Further documentary information is lacking so that the approximate date of the porch sculptures depends entirely on stylistic evidence.

The similarity of the porch sculptures and the twelfth century reliefs of the pulpit can be seen at a glance by comparing the latter to the decoration over the middle door to the church (Fig. 14). The lintel is a Roman bas-relief with theatrical masks. The archivolts are covered with an acanthus motif alternating with two small human figures and at the top is a scene which might be interpreted as the sacrifices of Cain and Abel. In the tympanum has been inserted a plaque with a mosaic background upon which are the bas-relief figures of Saints Peter and Paul flanking the seated Christ.

Closely related to these porch carvings are the two plaques at Sta. Restituta, Naples, which have been thoroughly analyzed by Venturi and Bertaux. Two capitals in the cloister at Monreale having scenes of Joseph in Egypt and of the story of Samson also belong to this series. Since the Monreale examples cannot have been executed before 1172, it would appear that the whole group of sculptures belongs in the third quarter of the twelfth century. The cloister capitals, however, are among the crudest in concept of any in the cloister although they are competently executed within the limitations of the sculptor's style. This suggests that the Sessa Aurunca carvings should be dated in the second quarter of the twelfth century. The stylistically related monuments of southern Italy and Sicily which belong to the same period include, besides those mentioned above, the following: the pulpit at S. Giovanni del Toro, the spandrel fragments now placed over the main entrance to the former Aflitto Palace, and the fragment of an Easter candlestick from Scala in the garden of the Rufolo Palace,²³ Ravello; the fragment in the floor of the cathedral at Capua; the pulpit at Sta. Trinità, La Cava; the fragments on the campanile of the cathedral at Gaeta; the pulpit in the cathedral of Caserta Vecchia; the capital with the months at Lentini; the paschal candlesticks in the cathedrals of Gaeta, Salerno, Capua, in the church of S. Paolo f.l.m., Rome, and in the Cappella Palatina, Palermo. The above is not an exhaustive list, but suggests, in spite of its incompleteness, the widespread activity of the Campanian sculptors of the twelfth century.

The question as to the place of origin of the classic style has long been disputed. Bertaux, Toesca, and Volbach consider that Palermo was the focal point from which the style was dispersed throughout Sicily and southern Italy.²⁴ Venturi, on the other hand, considers the style to have developed on the mainland and then to have been exported to the island.²⁵ The argument in favor of Palermo is aided by the demonstrable influence of Arab designs in the mosaics decorating the pulpits in Campania, as Bertaux found.²⁶ That the political center of the kingdom during the twelfth century was at Palermo is an historical fact which also supports this theory. There are, however, at most six

20. Venturi, *op.cit.*, figs. 528-535 and 538, pp. 556ff.

21. Bertaux, *op.cit.*, p. 771.

22. Schultz, *op.cit.*, p. 145, and C. Stornajolo, "I rilievi dell'arco sul portico della cattedrale di Sessa Aurunca," *Atti dell'Accademia Romana Pontificale d'Architettura*, VI, ser. II, 1895, pp. 163-180.

23. Bertaux, *op.cit.*, p. 613 n. 2.

24. Bertaux, "La sculpture en Italie de 1070 à 1260," *Histoire de l'Art*, ed. A. Michel, Paris, 1905, I, part 2, pp. 684-685; Toesca, *op.cit.*, p. 852; and Volbach, "Ein antikisierendes Bruchstück von einer kampanischen Kanzel in Berlin," pp. 184-185.

25. Venturi, *op.cit.*, pp. 528ff.

26. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 496ff.

monuments on the island that represent the classicizing style: a marble lintel over the north door of the Martorana, Palermo; the candlestick in the Cappella Palatina, Palermo; the capital at Lentini; the cloister of Monreale, the bronze doors of the north portal and the decorative sculptures of the west portal of the cathedral of Monreale. The earliest positive date for any of these is 1172 for the cloister. The paucity of examples and the lack of any documentary evidence to show the presence of the style before the third quarter of the century are strong arguments against the theory that the style was created in Palermo. On the mainland there is an abundance of sculpture, and the earliest dated monument is the Salerno lintel (1076-1085). There are also monuments which can be dated in the thirteenth century, whereas none exists in Sicily. The style was imported to the island during the reign of William II, 1172-1189, and was no longer used after his death.

The most important sculptures in Campania during the thirteenth century besides those at Sessa Aurunca are the reliefs and portrait busts from the Capua gate (1233-1240) and the evangelary pulpit in the cathedral of Ravello (1272). The most interesting development these two monuments show is the adaptation of the classic Campanian style of carving to the most typical subject used in Roman times, the portrait. An examination of the bust, now in the Capua Museum, originally from the gate erected by Frederick II, which is thought to be a portrait of his counsellor Pietro della Vigna,²⁷ shows how completely this work is related to the Campanian tradition (Fig. 15). The photograph shows the bust in profile in a partially restored condition; the nose is of plaster, the rest is of white marble. The linear quality of surface detail always observable in Campanian sculpture is noticeable here, particularly in the organization of the mantle folds and in the hair conventions. The drill technique is clearly used in such areas as the beard and hair as well as in the laurel circlet. The shoulders and chest are organized as a simple geometric mass, the surface of which is not broken up.

The appearance of a portrait bust in the mid-thirteenth century can most easily be explained as the revival by the Emperor Frederick of certain trappings and symbols of the Roman imperial state. His first gold *augustales* were minted in 1231 with his profile and the inscription "IMPERATOR ROMANORUM CESAR AUGUSTUS."²⁸ The gate erected to defend the northern approach to Capua was also designed in conscious, if partial, imitation of Roman structures in type of masonry and in choice of decoration. The busts set up on the gate were a fitting climax to the traditional style of sculpture in Campania. Frederick used the already existing cultural expression and technical facility for his own purposes, the glorification of his position and rule. He also introduced the classicizing style into his favorite province, Apulia, where the lavish and beautiful pleasure palace of Castel del Monte was erected.

The southern kingdom did not develop the classicizing style beyond the point reached during the reign of Frederick. His successor, Manfred, lost his life in 1266 in the bitter struggle against the French and Papal forces headed by Charles of Anjou, and the establishment of the Angevin dynasty at Naples opened the way for strong French Gothic influences on all the arts.

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27. Shearer, *op.cit.*, pp. 85ff.

28. Bertaux, *op.cit.*, p. 715, and Shearer, *op.cit.*, p. 74.

THE STAR GROUP OF CHAMPLEVÉ ENAMELS AND ITS CONNECTIONS*

W. FREDERICK STOHLMAN

THE vast production of Limoges champlevé enamels received its fullest treatment by Rupin.¹ His was an important work: it brought together the scattered literature in the publications of learned societies; it gave a general history of the subject; and it gave, what is still useful today, an inventory of objects. But as Marquet de Vasselot has pointed out,² it is, in spite of its great value, deficient in two important respects: it contains only a very vague chronology, and there is little or no attempt to classify the material by style. What classification there is is confined to a grouping by the shape of the objects, reliquary chests, crosses, pyxes, etc., and any further subdivision is by iconography.

Marquet de Vasselot was the first to publish a unified stylistic group. This group, consisting of objects with *vermiculé* background, remains today, after forty-five years, the most important group of Limoges champlevé enamels.³

In the article in Michel's *Histoire de l'art* Marquet de Vasselot pointed out the possibility of another group.⁴ This possibility will be examined here and, it is hoped, will provide one more closed group which will in some measure reduce the large amorphous and undigested mass of material that goes under various names.⁵

It is generally recognized that the problem of bringing order out of this vast material is the result of the way in which it was produced. It was large scale production designed to provide objects that, by their small price, would have a large sale. They were a substitute for the objects in gold and precious stones. But in spite of the fact that they were made in quantity there are almost no examples of exact duplication. Elements of decoration and parts of scenes are copied, but the parts are shuffled about to create something different. Ateliers, and there must have been many, took elements from one another with great freedom. It is this mixture of elements which has stood in the way of stylistic classification of Limoges enamels. For if one element is chosen as the touchstone of a group, it appears to serve very well for a while, but shortly the same element appears on an object of a totally different style. It must have been for this reason that Marquet de Vasselot carefully restricted his study of enamels with *vermiculé* decoration to those in which the *vermiculé* covered the whole background. Thus restricted, the *vermiculé* group, with a few exceptions,⁶ is consistent and closed. If, however, the touchstone of *vermiculé* is not confined to backgrounds, but is extended to include its appearance on, for instance, feet of reliquary chests, it loses its value, for the objects on which it appears are no longer of one style. Therefore, the group under consideration will be subjected to rigorous control; otherwise it will be no group at all.

* Acknowledgment for the use of photographs is made to the museums, as cited in the legends, to which the objects illustrated belong.

1. Ernest Rupin, *L'oeuvre de Limoges*, Paris, 1890.

2. J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Les crosses limousines du XIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1941, p. 1.

3. Marquet de Vasselot, "Les émaux limousins à fond vermiculé," *Revue archéologique*, VI, 1905, pp. 15-30, 231-245, 418-431; also published as an extract with additional material,

Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1906.

4. Marquet de Vasselot, "L'orfèvrerie et l'émaillerie au XIIIe et XIVe siècles," *Histoire de l'art* . . . , ed. André Michel, Paris, 1906, II, pt. II, pp. 945-946; *idem*, *Crosses limousines*, p. 71 n. 3.

5. Marvin Chauncey Ross, "De Opere Lemoviceno," *Speculum*, XVI, 1941, pp. 453ff.

6. W. F. Stohlman, *Catalogo del Museo Sacro*, II, *Gli smalti del Museo Sacro Vaticano* . . . , Città del Vaticano, 1939, p. 11.

THE GROUP

The objects of this group are characterized by figures in enamel on a metal background. The background is striated by the graver or wheel, and is sown with eight-pointed stars, either enameled or reserved, and four-pointed stars that are reserved in the metal. The enameled figures, with few exceptions, are of a high order both technically and artistically. The enamel is skillfully applied but lacks the brilliance of the best Limoges work. This is particularly true of the red. The colors are varied and include more red than is usual in the normal Limoges scheme. The eyes are treated with special care. White, light blue, and dark blue are combined to create a vivid expression which is further enhanced by the sidewise glance. Red is frequently used for the lips and is often found in the hair and beards in a granular form, let into grooves in the manner of niello. Face and hands may be white or flesh-color and in some cases show gradation of color on cheeks and forehead. Garments are inclined to be in the traditional shades of blue while shoes and stockings may be red. The varied color scheme includes green, a special peacock blue, yellow, and yellow-green. For special textures, such as a representation of a sponge, a mottled effect is achieved.

The background is metal which has been engraved with horizontal striations except where the field has been dug out (*champlevé*) for an enameled eight-pointed star, or reserved for either an eight-pointed or a four-pointed one. This decorative scheme is sometimes enlarged to include quatrefoils, diamonds, and disks, and in one case a stylized ornament of which unfortunately only a part is preserved.⁷

Where the object has decoration on more than one side, the front consists of appliqué figures on a metal ground sown with stars and cabochons and the back conforms to the requirements of the star group. It is, then, this combination of the enameled figures with the "star" background which forms the nucleus of the group.

For the list of the group which follows, the order in which the objects are listed is arbitrary. The order is neither a chronological sequence nor does it indicate a strict stylistic development. First come those which form the nucleus of the group, and at the end come those which are, to be sure, part of the group, but which do not exactly meet the standards set up for the nucleus.

- (1) Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet. Reliquary chest, no. 9109 (Figs. 1-4).
- (2) Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. Three fragments of a reliquary chest (O. M. Dalton, *Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean Bequest, Catalogue . . .*, Cambridge, 1912, pl. XIII, nos. 49-51).
- (3) Paris, Musée de Cluny. So-called pax, no. 4522 (Fig. 13).
- (4) New York, Metropolitan Museum. Plaque, acq. no. 41.100.180 (S. Rubinstein-Bloch, *Catalogue of the Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New York, Paris, 1926-30*, III, pl. XIII; *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Masterpieces in the Collection of George Blumenthal . . .*, New York, 1943, fig. 32).
- (5) Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Side of a reliquary chest, acq. 1896 (Fig. 16).
- (6) Liverpool, Free Public Museums, Mayer Museum. Box, no. M.18 (Fig. 18).
- (7) Leningrad, Hermitage Museum. Two ends of a reliquary chest, nos. Ch. 1331-32 (Figs. 5, 6).
- (8) Leningrad, Hermitage Museum. Reliquary chest, no. Bas. 268 (Figs. 7-10).⁸
- (9) Leningrad, Hermitage Museum. Reliquary chest, no. Bas. 276. Judging from the photograph this chest has been remade. Only a close examination could determine the authentic parts.
- (10) Leningrad, Hermitage Museum. Statuette of Virgin, no. Bas. 285 (Fig. 14).

7. O. M. Dalton, *Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean Bequest, Catalogue . . .*, Cambridge, 1912, pl. XIII, no. 50.

8. The inventory numbers preceded by "Bas." refer to the Basilevsky Collection. They are not, however, the numbers

given in the catalogue of the Basilevsky Collection by Basilevsky and Darcel published in 1874, which are here given in parenthesis: Bas. 268 (198), Bas. 276 (203), Bas. 285 (212).



1. Back



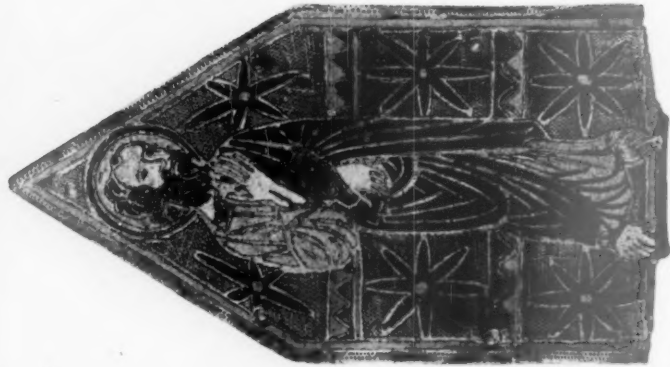
2. Right end



3. Front



4. Left end



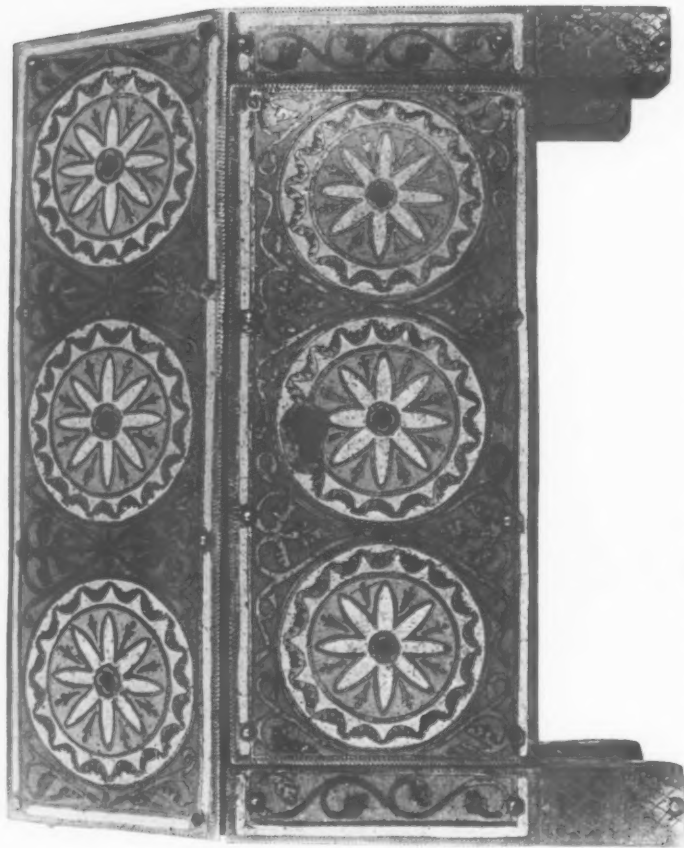
5. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum.
End of reliquary chest, no. Ch.1331



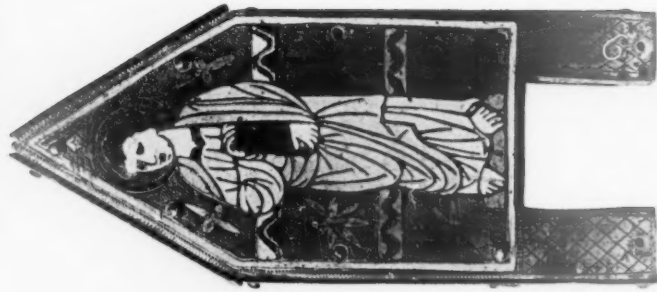
6. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum.
End of reliquary chest, no. Ch.1332



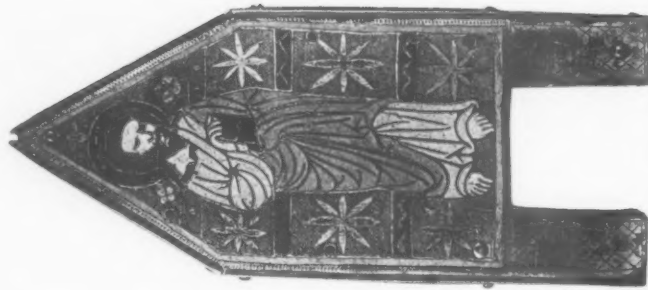
7. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum. Reliquary chest, no. Bas.268, front



8. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum. Reliquary chest, no. Bas.268, back



9. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum.
Reliquary chest, no. Bas.268, end



10. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum.
Reliquary chest, no. Bas.268, end



11. New York, Metropolitan Museum. Plaque, acq. no. 17.190.756



12. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe. Plaque from a cross, no. 1886.60



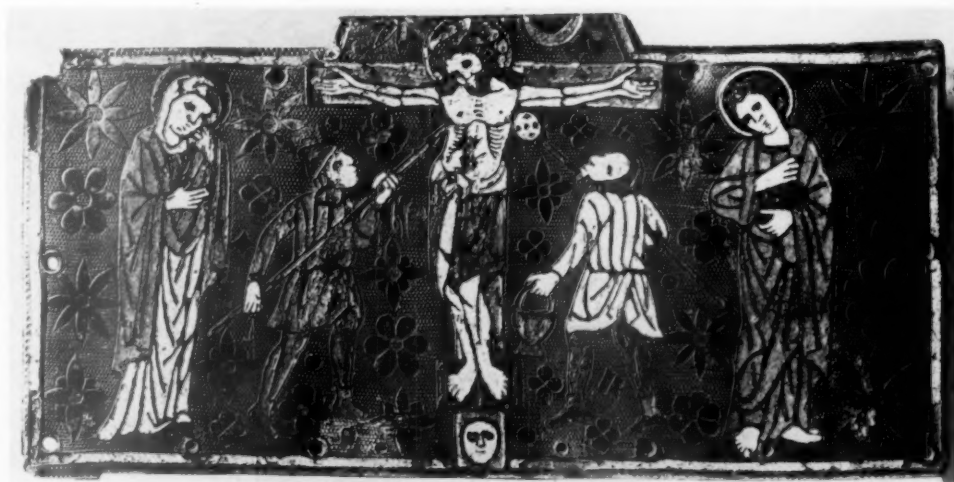
13. Paris, Musée de Cluny. So-called pax, no. 4522



14. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum. Statuette of Virgin, no. Bas.285



15. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. Plaque from a cross, cat. no. 53



16. Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Side of a reliquary chest, acq. 1896



17. Paris, Musée de Cluny. Plaque from a cross, no. 14674



18. Liverpool, Free Public Museums, Mayer Museum. Box, no. M.18



19. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Center plaque from a cross, M.158-1919



20. Venice, Museo Civico Correr. Five Plaques from a book cover, inv. no. 878



21. Venice, Museo Civico Correr. Book cover, inv. no. 879

- (11) Neufchâtel-en-Bray (Seine-Inf.), Musée Mathon. Cross (E. Rupin, *L'Oeuvre de Limoges*, Paris, 1890, p. 146, fig. 220; pl. xxv, figs. 344-345).
- (12) Bartholomaeberg (Vorarlberg), Church. Cross (*Mitt. Kaiserl. Koenigl. Centr. Comm.*, xviii, 1873, p. 306, fig. 7).
- (13) Le Montet (Allier), Church, Presbytery. Cross (*Bull.-rev., Soc. émulation, beaux-arts du Bourbonnais*, ix, 1901, pp. 151-54; pl. opp. p. 144).
- (14) New York, Metropolitan Museum. Plaque, seated apostle, acq. no. 17.190.756 (Fig. 11).
- (15) Hamburg, Museum fuer Kunst und Gewerbe. Plaque from a cross, no. 1886.60 (Fig. 12).
- (16) Formerly Collection Victor Gay. Plaque from a cross (E. Rupin, *op.cit.*, p. 296, fig. 361).
- (17) Naples, Museo Nazionale e Pinacoteca. Cross, no. 10407 (A. Ott. Quintavalle, "Oreficeria del medio evo nella Pinacoteca del Museo Nazionale di Napoli," *Bolletino d'arte*, xxv, ser. 3, 1931, p. 135, figs. 5-6).
- (18) Paris, Musée de Cluny. Plaque from a cross, no. 14674 (Fig. 17).
- (19) Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. Plaque from a cross, no. 53 (Fig. 15).
- (20) Rouen, Musée des antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure. Plaque from a cross (... *Guide du Visiteur*, Rouen, 1923, p. 17, fig. 18).
- (21) London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Center plaque from a cross, M.158-1919 (Fig. 19).
- (22) Paris, Musée du Louvre. Reliquary of Saint Francis, inv. no. 4083 (J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, "L'orfèvrerie et l'émaillerie au XIIIe et XIVe siècles," *Histoire de l'art* ..., ed. André Michel, Paris, 1906, II, pt. II, p. 946, fig. 565).
- (23) Paris, Musée du Louvre. Plaque from a reliquary of Saint Francis, inv. des sculptures 84, D.81 (J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue sommaire de l'orfèvrerie, de l'émaillerie et des gemmes* ..., Paris, 1914, pl. xv, no. 87).
- (24) Venice, Museo Civico Correr. Five plaques from a book cover, inv. no. 878 (Fig. 20).
- (25) Venice, Museo Civico Correr. Book cover, inv. no. 879 (Fig. 21).

The character and high quality of the enamels of this group are best seen in the Copenhagen reliquary chest, the plaques from Cambridge, the so-called pax from the Cluny Museum, and the plaque of the Annunciation in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

In the Lyon plaque representing the Crucifixion, the decorative elements of the background include forms other than stars. The plaque is nevertheless a part of the group. Variations within this style are to be expected since it is fairly certain that it flourished for some time and was probably adopted by more than one workshop. This accounts for such divergencies of quality as can be seen by comparing the Blumenthal plaque of the Annunciation in the Metropolitan Museum with the Virgin enthroned in the Liverpool Museum.

The Neufchâtel-en-Bray cross is clearly within the group and is a good example of the contrast between the front and back of objects in this group. One side, in this case the back, has style of composition and shows skill in execution. The other side is a jumble of repoussé and cast figures and ornamental sheets. That this style is consistent, though the technique of assembling the cross may vary, is shown by the cross in the Pinacoteca in Naples.

The two quatrefoil plaques representing angels, Cambridge and Rouen, show, in their figure style, a close connection with the group, but the stars have given way to quatrefoils and disks. The same is true of the two plaques in the Louvre representing Saint Francis. Stars are present in the background, but they are not the four and eight-pointed stars of the group.

Two questions naturally arise, the second the consequence of the answer to the first. The first question is, of course, what is the date of the objects of this group? Here we are more fortunate than with most Limoges enamels in that we have a date before which two of the objects could not

have been made. These are the two quatrefoils in the Louvre representing Saint Francis receiving the stigmata. It was in 1228 that Saint Francis was canonized by Pope Gregory IX. Just how much time we should allow for a Limoges artist to arrive at the composition used on the Louvre plaques is a problem. Were it a copy of a standard scene, the lapse of time before it would come to the attention of a Limoges artist might be short. But the scene appears to be a conflation of a "Stigmatization" and a "Preaching."⁹ Whether we accept the theory that the style of Limoges usually lagged fifty years behind the style of the Ile de France, we at least must assume that the Saint Francis plaque was made not earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century.

If that is so, the second question arises naturally from the answer to the first. How does it happen, at the time when the ateliers of Limoges were engaged in turning out objects with spaced or reserved figures on an enameled background, that at least one atelier should produce objects with enameled figures on a metal background? Was this atelier in Limoges, somewhere else in France, or outside of France altogether? Hildburgh has touched on this subject in connection with the Saint Francis plaques.¹⁰ Until we have more conclusive evidence it would be wise to reserve judgment on the place of origin of these two plaques and of the group as a whole.

Around the periphery of the "star" group there exist numbers of objects which are related to it by some one characteristic. For the present they must be excluded though it is hoped at some later time their relationship to one another and to the "star" group may be demonstrated.

Some of these are crosses composed of a sheet of copper, the front of which has appliqué figures on a "star" background, and which has engraved figures and rinceaux of a free style on the back. Examples of this style are to be found in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican, the Treasury of the Cathedral of Anagni, and the Walters Art Gallery (44.108). Other variants of this type are crosses composed of a wood core. The fronts of these crosses consist of sheets of copper engraved with the "star" design and gilded. These copper sheets may or may not contain cabochons. On this background are nailed the appliqué figures. The back of the cross is covered with copper sheets, sometimes with simple designs in repoussé, and adorned with enameled plaques representing the Christ and the four evangelists. With these crosses we are well outside the "star" group.

There are also reliquary chests on the periphery of the "star" group. They exhibit the same characteristics as the crosses just mentioned. On the front are crude cast and repoussé figures nailed to a metal ground which has been engraved with stars and interspersed with cabochons. The backs are enameled in geometrical patterns and the ends have the figures of standing saints reserved in the metal on an enameled background. These chests appear to have been made in large quantity and are of such poor quality that they have been named *chasses de pacotille*.¹¹ From internal evidence, they are judged to have been made late in the thirteenth century and their production continued into the fourteenth.

Placed beside the crosses and reliquary chests just mentioned, the "star" group of *champlevé* enamels stands out as being of a higher order and worthy to stand just below some of the finest products of the *oeuvre de Limoges*.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

9. I am indebted to Marvin J. Eisenberg for this observation.

10. W. L. Hildburgh, *Medieval Spanish Enamels* . . . , London, 1936, p. 127.

11. J. Jouhaud, "Les chasses de 'pacotille,'" *Bull. Soc. archéol. et hist. du Limousin*, LXXXIII, 1949, pp. 48ff. This reference I owe to William H. Forsyth of the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

WOODEN ALTAR FRONTALS FROM CASTILE

WALTER W. S. COOK

IN the field of mediaeval panel painting, the majority of the surviving Spanish wooden altar frontals originated in the province of Catalonia. That these were also made in other provinces of the Peninsula is shown, however, by a few examples which undoubtedly came from Castile. Among their number is the wooden antependium, presented to the Biblioteca-Museo-Balaguer (no. 1) of Villanueva y Gueltrú¹ in 1886 by D. Rafael de Nicolás Escribano, who reported that it came from the city of Toledo.²

This frontal contains the Madonna and Child in the central compartment, flanked by four slightly wider divisions with standing figures of the twelve apostles (Fig. 1).³ The Madonna is seated in hieratic frontality on a high throne whose lyre-shaped back is indicated by a black painted ornamental border ending in pomegranate finials. She clasps a circular object in the right hand and supports the Child, without the usual cruciform nimbus, on her left knee. Clad in a long white tunic, he blesses with the right hand and formerly held the Book in the other, but this is now lost. The Madonna wears a red tunic, an embroidered mantle of blue-green, and a wimple. Her face is badly mutilated. The crown, ornamented with fleur-de-lis, still shows traces of gilding. The canopy above her head consists of a trefoil arch, surmounted by a low red aedicule with a dome and two square turrets with crenelated parapets. The arch is supported by short columns with coarse acanthus capitals, low bases, and large torus mouldings.

The twelve apostles at the sides stand in three-quarters view under blind arcades. Many of the figures are considerably injured, especially those in the lower register, but it is possible to discern that most of them held a book in one hand and that the other was raised in a gesture of teaching or speech. Nimbi are painted behind the heads of at least three apostles, several of whom appear to have been bearded. The trefoil arches, surmounted by aedicules and turrets, are supported by short columns with foliate capitals. The pomegranate design that forms a rich pattern in the central compartment is repeated on a smaller scale in the backgrounds of each of the niches. These are painted in alternation, orange-red, green, blue, and dark brown.

The apostle shown at the extreme left in the upper row is relieved against a dark green ground. He is portrayed with short hair and beard, a red tunic and green mantle. A mutilated fragment of a book is held in the left hand. The second figure, now almost obliterated, is beardless and formerly had red hair, a green tunic, and blue mantle. The third apostle, nearest the Virgin, is also in poor condition, but the keys held in the right hand identify the figure as St. Peter. He wears a light brown tunic and red mantle, against a blue ground.

1. Villanueva y Gueltrú lies on the coast south of Barcelona, not far from Vilafranca del Panadés. It is in the county of Panadés, province and diocese of Barcelona. The local museum, known as the Biblioteca-Museo-Balaguer, is named after its founder, Exmo. Sr. D. Victor Balaguer. For further information see Gomis, *Provincia de Barcelona*, 530-538.

2. According to a notice published in 1886 when the frontal was acquired by the Biblioteca-Museo-Balaguer. After an examination of the records, the president of the Museum informs me that on February 16, 1886, the founder of the Museum, Sr. D. Victor Balaguer, wrote from Madrid to the Director of the Museum, Sr. D. Manuel Creus Esther: "Tan pronto como pueda mandaré el frontal que tengo dispuesto, regalo del Sr. Escribano, sobre lo cual hay que hacer un suelto (procede de Toledo)."

3. Size: 1.06 x 1.74 m. CONDITION: Although much damaged, this work probably owes its present existence to the fact that the figures were not made separately and attached to the panel, but were carved directly from the background. This frontal is composed of three planks joined together. The face of the Madonna in the central compartment is mutilated beyond recognition and holes have been punched through the background on each side of her shoulders and between her feet. The heads and drapery of several of the figures in the niches have also been injured. Three sides of the frame have been lost. Much of the color in the backgrounds dates from the sixteenth century. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Notice in *Bol. de la Biblioteca-Museo-Balaguer*, Villanueva y Gueltrú, III, no. 17 (Feb. 26, 1886), p. 3; *ibid.*, III, no. 18 (March 26, 1886), p. 8; Gudiol y Cunill, *Primitius*, II, p. 49 n. 1.

The heads of the first two apostles at the upper right side are the best preserved of the series. The slightly bald St. Paul, standing next to the Virgin, has red hair and beard, now much repainted, a dark tunic and green mantle. He holds a book in the left hand instead of the usual sword, and the right hand, raised with palm outward, is well preserved. This is one of the few instances in the panel in which a nimbus is painted behind the head on a red ground.

The figure in the central niche on the right is clad in a red tunic and blue mantle; the last apostle has red hair and beard, a dark green tunic, and red mantle. The remaining six apostles in the two lower compartments are also in a deplorable state of preservation, especially the heads, but it is still possible to discern that the tunics, mantles, and foliate backgrounds were painted red-orange, light green, blue, and dark brown in alternation.

In its present condition, it is uncertain how much of the ornament is of the period and how much is due to later restoration. The foliate rinceau on the vertical bands dividing the central from the side compartments might date from the late thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. However, the pomegranate design, employed as a ground behind the Virgin and repeated in the lateral niches, is not earlier than the late fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. This motif, in which a pomegranate supported by heavy stems is the chief ornamental feature, was obviously copied from a Renaissance velvet brocade such as the early sixteenth century Spanish cope in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 3).⁴ Woven in gold and silver threads, these patterned fabrics were manufactured chiefly in Florence during the fifteenth century; but at a later date, under Italian influence, they were made in Spain as well. Although mostly employed as church vestments, these sumptuous velvets also served as backgrounds or as cloths of estate and are frequently so represented in European paintings of the early Renaissance. Inasmuch as the pomegranate pattern came into widespread use during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, it is probable that the design on this panel is a sixteenth century addition.

A frequent occurrence in Spanish art, the style of this antependium is not strictly homogeneous. The old Romanesque formula appears in the division of the panel into a central and four lateral compartments, and something of it is still apparent in the figure style, but the details of the architecture are fully Gothic. The seated and crowned Madonna follows the Île-de-France type that began with the majestic, early Gothic Virgins of the west portal of Chartres and the Ste. Anne portal of Notre Dame at Paris. The severely frontal pose and the immobility of the Virgin on this panel are reminiscent of these early Gothic models and recall the thirteenth-century Madonna in the stained glass of the cathedral of Laon.⁵ The round heads with short curls, the freer rendering of the three-quarters pose with the body bent slightly backward and the weight resting on one leg, are typical features of Gothic. Equally characteristic are the form of the trefoil arch and the naturalistic rendering of the foliate capitals. Such details indicate that this antependium cannot be placed earlier than the year 1300 and that in all probability it was executed in the early years of the fourteenth century.

As to the provenance of this altar frontal, the only evidence is the statement in 1886 of Sr. Balaguer, the founder of the Museum, that it came from Toledo. Whether the antependium was found in Toledo or came from some other town in Castile it is impossible to ascertain now, but it

4. See *Catalogue of a Special Exhibition of Textiles*, New York, 1915-16, no. 127.40, reproduction facing p. 42, and Stella Rubinstein-Bloch, *Catalogue of the Blumenthal Collection*, IV, pl. XVIII. Other similar examples are the cope in the Hospital del Rey, Burgos (Émile Bertaux, *L'exposition rétrospective de Saragosse*, 1908, pl. 50) and another in the museum in Brussels (Isabelle Errera, *Catalogue d'étoffes*, 1907, p. 120, no. 138). For a similar velvet, but which has orphreys in the Gothic style of the fifteenth century, see Raymond Cox, *L'art de décorer les tissus*, p. 12, pl. 31. In a painting by Gerard

David there is a velvet much alike in pattern (A. S. Cole, *Ornament in European silks*, 83). Similar pieces exist in the Vienna Museum (Fischbach, *Ornamente der Gewebe*, pl. 121), and in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, Milan (Gaston Migeon, *Les arts du tissu*, p. 69).

5. Florival et Midoux, *Vitraux de Laon*, pl. 1. For a discussion of the frontal and crowned Madonna in the Romanesque art of France, Italy and Spain, see Cook, *ART BULLETIN*, X, 1928, pp. 309, 322.

must be admitted that several features of the work suggest a non-Catalan origin. The color, especially, is unusual; the liberal use of whites produces a light tonality that is not found on most Catalan altar frontals. Equally unique for Catalonia would be the leaf-and-dart ornament of the frame. It is quite within the realms of possibility that this is Castilian in origin, and in that event, this panel is one of the few preserved examples of an antependium from Castile.

Another wooden altar frontal, containing Christ in Majesty with the twelve apostles, now hangs in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid. Acquired in 1933, the exact provenance of this work is unknown, but it is reported to have come from the province of León.⁶

The panel consists of a central diamond-shaped compartment enframing the *Majestas Domini*, flanked on both sides by niches with standing figures of the apostles (Fig. 2). The enthroned Saviour wears a crown, long tunic, and mantle. He holds the Book in the left hand, while the very large right is raised in benediction. The mandorla is adorned at the top, bottom, and sides with a fluted rosette. These and the dividing band between the upper and lower compartments are embellished in gold on the top and in the sides with red and gold. The symbols of the evangelists are in the orthodox arrangement in the spandrels.

The side compartments are subdivided into upper and lower registers, each of which contains an arcade with three pointed arches, simple engaged shafts, and diminutive capitals and bases. Above the capitals are small towers, red in color with a broad stripe of gold at the top. Standing figures of the twelve apostles (26 to 28 cm. in size and red and gold) are represented in the niches, each portrayed with dark brown beard and mustache and clad in long tunic and mantle (Fig. 4). All hold a gray book in one hand, the cover of which is embellished with a white quincunx pattern, and all are shod in dark grey sandals. None of the apostles can be identified with certainty except St. Paul, the figure nearest the Saviour in the right upper register, who is represented as bald. They all have the usual short, rather thick-set figures and large heads. The background is light blue, but all the colors are late, probably dating from the nineteenth century.

In its present state, there is little evidence by which this antependium may be accurately dated. The composition and frontality of the figures are belated Romanesque features, but the unusually stiff and awkward drapery treatment indicates a transitional Gothic style. The four fluted rosettes on the central mandorla are employed in the same manner on a frontal from Mave. The angular mandorla and niches, as well as the stocky little figures, add to the primitive effect. Obviously the work of a clumsy provincial artist probably of the early fourteenth century, the chief interest of this panel is its provenance, since it is the only extant frontal that has thus far come to light in the province of León.

A third wooden altar frontal is that which formerly decorated the high altar of the cathedral of Santo Domingo de la Calzada (Logroño) and which is now in the collection of D. Luis Ruiz in Madrid.⁷

6. Mr. Arthur Byne, the art dealer, who brought it to Madrid and sold it to D. Apolinar Sánchez, informed me that it formerly hung in a parish church in the province of León. The Museo Arqueológico in Madrid purchased this work from the Madrid art dealer, Sánchez Villalba. SIZE: Width including the rosettes 0.84 m. and without the rosettes, 0.74 m. The length is 1.56 m. These measurements do not include the wooden frame which conceals the original one if it still really exists. The enthroned Saviour is 50 cm. in height. CONDITION: This work is much worm-eaten. Owing to the technique, which is similar to that of the frontal at Villanueva y Gueltrú, all of the figures have been preserved. The frontal has been entirely repainted, probably in the nineteenth century. The apostles are represented invariably with a thick beard and long mustache. The drapery also reveals the heavy hand of a clumsy restorer, and the original color of the background is completely hidden beneath later coats of repaint. The frame is

modern.

7. SIZE: 1.02 x 3.76 m. EXHIBITED: Barcelona, Exposición Internacional, 1929, no. 2747. CONDITION: The scenes in seven of the small side compartments have been lost entirely and some of the figures are missing in four others. Much of the polychromy has disappeared. BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Guía del Museo del Palacio Nacional*, third ed., no. 2747, 186. According to this catalogue of the Barcelona Exposition, when the frontal was removed from the cathedral at Sto. Domingo de la Calzada, a modern copy was substituted which is still in situ. This is of inferior workmanship. Sto. Domingo de la Calzada lies in the diocese of Calahorra, province of Logroño, not far from Burgos. The Gothic cathedral, which is now the parish church, lies in the center of the town, and contains the sepulcher of Sto. Domingo, patron of this diocese and founder of the town. According to the last report, this frontal has been purchased and returned to the church of Sto. Domingo de la Calzada.

This antependium (Fig. 5) consists of a narrow central division containing the Trinity flanked on each side by a series of small compartments which once had at least twelve scenes mostly from the Old Testament. In the center, God the Father with a crimson crossed nimbus, long hair and beard, and dark brown tunic and mantle, holds in outstretched arms a large cross (Fig. 6). The right hand and a portion of the arm of the cross have been broken off. The figure of the crucified Saviour is lost and the dove is missing as well.⁸ God the Father is enclosed within a mandorla, decorated at the top, bottom, and sides with half rosettes. The light brown throne on which he is seated has geometric ornament.

The spandrels outside the mandorla contain the four symbols of the evangelists, each of which holds a scroll. The eagle of St. John, in the upper left (IOH[AN]N[ES]), has red wings; the angel of St. Matthew on the right wears a red tunic and reddish brown mantle while his scroll contains the letters TE: the ox of St. Luke in the lower left (LV[CAS]) and the lion of St. Mark (M[A]RC[VS]) are rendered somewhat unnaturalistically.

The side compartments are divided into upper and lower registers each of which contains four Biblical scenes. The episodes are represented underneath arches, the intrados of which are trefoil in form while the extrados have typically Gothic ornament. They are supported by colonnettes with circular shafts and foliate capitals. Small turrets are shown in the spandrels.

The first two scenes in the left upper register are missing. On the background, a moon and stars may still be seen, painted in red against a dark blue sky. Heads of animals appear by the small fragment of a tree trunk, which suggests that the Creation of the Animals may have been represented. The second Creation scene, which would probably be the Creation of Man, is entirely lost. In the third, the Creation of Eve (Fig. 7), Adam reclines on a rock asleep. God the Father to the left grasps Eve by her wrist. She is visible to her waist, emerging from Adam's side. God the Father wears a blue tunic and red mantle. In the background are two pear-shaped trees to indicate the Garden. In the Admonition of the Creator to Adam and Eve, God the Father stands between two trees with right hand raised in the gesture of speech (Fig. 8). The figures of Adam and Eve have been broken away and only three feet remain.

The Temptation, the first scene in the right upper register, shows only the Tree of Knowledge with a serpent coiled about the trunk. The leaves of the trees are red and the serpent has silver scales with spots of brown. The figures of Adam and Eve are lost and only two feet remain on the ground line at the left. In the Expulsion from Paradise, next on the right (Fig. 9), the Angel of the Lord, in a long reddish mantle, stands at the left with drawn sword. With his other hand he pushes the naked Adam ahead of him. Adam looks back with right hand raised in protest and covers himself with a large brown fig leaf. The figure of Eve has been lost. Two trees are shown in the background. The Labor of Adam and Eve is the third episode in this register (Fig. 10). Eve in a blue robe, seated at the left on a rock, has lost both arms, but was undoubtedly depicted in the act of spinning. Clad in a short brown shirt, Adam tills the soil; his hands are missing nor do any traces of his tools remain. A tall tree which separated the two figures has now disappeared. The last scene in this register can best be construed as Isaac Blessing Jacob, rather than Moses' Charge to Joshua or the Death of Adam (Fig. 11). Isaac, his right arm lost, lies on a couch. The drapery falling in large folds over the pillow is dark brown with horizontal red stripes, and the blanket which covers him is reddish. The youthful Jacob in a red tunic once held an object in the right hand which was probably a bowl of food. His other arm is muffled. The canopy above the bed, a neutral brown, is decorated with a lozenge pattern.

The death of Jacob (Fig. 12) is given in the first niche of the left lower register. The patriarch Jacob lies stretched on a bed while four figures minister to him. The person minus a head who stands

8. This same form of the Trinity occurs on a fourteenth century altar frontal from Navarre, now in the Kelekian Collection in New York City.



1. Villanueva y Gueltrú, Biblioteca-Museo-Balaguer. Altar frontal, Madonna and Child and Apostles



2. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Altar frontal, Majestas Domini with Twelve Apostles



3. New York, Metropolitan Museum. Spanish cope, sixteenth century



4. Detail of Figure 2



5. Madrid, collection D. Luis Ruiz (formerly Cathedral of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Logroño). Altar frontal



6. Detail of Figure 5, *Trinity*



7. Detail of Figure 5, *Creation of Eve*



11. *Isaac Blessing Jacob*



15. *Christ in Gethsemane*



10. *Labor of Adam and Eve*



14. *Moses Receiving the Law*



9. *Expulsion from Paradise*



13. *Moses and the Burning Bush*



8. *Annunciation to Adam and Eve*



12. *Death of Jacob*



by the pillow raises his left hand to his breast. The remaining three (one headless), behind the couch, may be meant to represent women. Clad in their red tunics, they bend solicitously over Jacob, while the middle one throws up her hands in a gesture of grief or consternation. The scene adjoining has been lost entirely. Moses and the Burning Bush is represented in the third place (Fig. 13). Moses, with a long black beard and hair rising like flames, kneels at the left with both arms outstretched. The hands are missing. He is wearing a brown robe with traces of red. The head of God the Father appears in a cloud above two trees. Of Moses Receiving the Law, only the kneeling figure of Moses remains and the hands again are missing (Fig. 14).

In the right lower register, the first three scenes have been lost, and only a fragment of that on the extreme right has survived, apparently Christ in Gethsemane (Fig. 15). The three sleeping figures are obviously the three apostles and the head of God the Father emerges above from a cloud. The outlines on the background to the left indicate that a kneeling, praying form was represented, Christ gazing up at the heavens. The figure at the left, with his head resting on his hand, would be St. Peter, since he wears the tonsure and has short curly hair. The person on the right is in a brown mantle with traces of red. In view of this subject, it is highly probable that the three preceding were from the New Testament, scenes from the Passion of Christ, culminating in the central Crucifixion-Trinity.

The antependium is surrounded by a narrow frame which shows practically no trace of decoration. The backgrounds of the lateral niches are incised with a lozenge pattern and a similar design ornaments the vertical and horizontal strips of wood separating the frontal into compartments. A quatrefoil motif is painted on the turrets in the spandrels of the arches. The general tonality of the panel is a dark brown. The different scenes were carved separately in relief and attached to the backgrounds. This technique of carving the figures independently accounts for the loss of so many of the groups. The high altar of the cathedral of Sto. Domingo de la Calzada is wider than was customary and this explains the unusual breadth of this panel.

The style of the frontal is Franco-Gothic, an instance of the fully developed Gothic manner. This is best shown by the figure of the Creator in the central compartment. The trefoil arches and the foliate ornament in the extrados of the arches are also typical of the High Gothic. This work must have been executed about the middle of the fourteenth century.

THE "ANGELOT" OF JEAN BARBET*

FRANKLIN M. BIEBEL

WORKING in metal was one of the major arts of the Middle Ages. Literary evidence of this importance is found in the *Schedula diversarum artium* of Theophilus, the most extensive technical treatise on mediaeval arts still preserved, in which the first book is devoted to a description of the processes of painting, the second to the making of glass, and the third to the art of working metal. Monumental figures, doors, fountains, and baptismal fonts, as well as many smaller objects, both liturgical and secular, were created in great quantity by mediaeval copper-smiths, by bronze casters, and by workers in brass. Compared to the work of the Gothic stonecarver, very little of this vast production of artistic metalwork now remains. Objects of copper and bronze, particularly those on a large scale, were always too accessible as an easy source of refined metal to permit many of them to survive. One of the few monumental Gothic sculptures in metal that has survived is the figure of a youthful angel now in the Frick Collection (Figs. 1-5). Known familiarly as the *Ange du Lude*, it is the work of Jean Barbet, a fifteenth century French sculptor of Lyons. The angel first attracted general attention when it was shown in Paris at the Universal Exposition of 1867.¹ It was then owned by the Marquis de Talhouet and used as a *girouette*, or weather vane, on one of the towers of his château at Lude; later it was brought indoors and placed on the newel post of the grand staircase of the château. Shortly after 1905 the figure was acquired by J. Pierpont Morgan; it was brought from his English country house to the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York where it remained until 1944 when it was acquired by the Frick Collection. Its superior merit as a work of art, its use at Lude as a weather vane, and its uniqueness as an example showing the skill of the mediaeval bronze caster on a large scale have combined to make it the object of widespread interest for many years, but Barbet's angel has never been studied carefully. Without attempting to present settled or final conclusions, the purpose of this discussion is to examine the history of this late mediaeval work of art and to review the conflicting theories that have grown up about it.

In style the angel is one of the finest products of the *détente*, that reversal of artistic taste or "relaxation from realism" which influenced sculpture in various regions of France during the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. While the *détente* sculptors could not wholly ignore the new Flemish realism, they combined with it a dignity and spirituality which recall thirteenth century Gothic sculpture. Marcel Aubert speaks of their creations as "ces oeuvres d'une grâce très douce, encore toutes gothiques."² The angel wears a plain robe gathered at the waist and falling below in deep folds, raised only slightly to reveal his bare feet (Figs. 1-2). His right hand is fixed in a pointing gesture; his clasped left hand was intended to hold some object which is now lost. The

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London; that for Fig. 9 through the courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; that for Fig. 12 through the courtesy of the Louvre; and that for Fig. 13 through the courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

1. *Catalogue général, Exposition Universelle, Histoire du Travail et Monuments Historiques*, Paris, 1867, p. 115, no. 1827; Charles de Linas, "L'Histoire du Travail à l'Exposition Universelle," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, May, 1867, p. 640; Alfred Darcel, "Le bronze dans les salles de l'Histoire du Travail," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 1867, XXIII, p. 316.

2. Marcel Aubert, *La sculpture française au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1946, pp. 407ff.

elongation of the body, especially from the waist to the feet, results in creating a graceful figure of slim proportions (Figs. 1-3). The neatly-combed hair is held in place with a band, its center decorated with a rosette, while the youthful face, enlivened by a slight smile, combines physical attractiveness with a restrained expression of deep spiritual emotion (Fig. 4). Mingled with its seriousness is an air of candor and naïveté which, as Paul Vitry remarked,³ makes Barbet's angel an artistic brother to the angels of Hans Memling, or, to choose a French counterpart, those active but demure angels which occur so frequently in the pages illuminated by Jean Fouquet. Behind the figure rise two great wings, extending from his head almost to his feet. The wings are detachable and are fastened to the body with pins (Fig. 3). Despite their exposed position, the wings have fortunately remained intact, except for the tip of one left-wing feather which has broken off and is missing. Running vertically across the inside of the left wing is an inscription giving the name of the maker: Jean Barbet, and the date of execution: March 28, 1475. The text reads: "le xxvii^e jour de mars lan mil cccc lx + xv jehan barbet dit de lion fist cest angelot" (Fig. 5). The irregular position of the last numeral indicating the day of the month has frequently resulted in a reading of the date as March 27. While the shape of the last *i* does differ slightly from the first two, there would seem to be no other reason for not accepting it as part of the same integer. It is even possible to consider it as a "last-minute" addition, made necessary by some unforeseen difficulty which prevented the work from being completed on the expected date.

Lyons was a center of artistic activity during the later Middle Ages, and from the mid-fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century more than a hundred and fifty sculptors worked there.⁴ A few were Flemings, but the majority were Frenchmen and among these the names of Jacques Morel (active 1417-1459) and Jean Barbet are well known. Nothing is recorded about Barbet's origins or his training and no other sculpture of his exists; what little else is known about him from the city records of Lyons relates to his activity as a founder of cannon.⁵ In 1491 he was given the title of *canonnier du Roy* and from 1491 to 1507 he was employed with his brother Valentin by the Municipal Council of Lyons as *canonnier et bombardier*. In 1503 taxes he owed to the king were suspended because "il est canonnier et a servy la ville et est pour la servir."⁶ He died in 1514.

Admirably precise as the inscription on our angel is, it raises questions on two minor points. The first concerns the specific meaning intended by the word *angelot*. *Angelot* in its literal sense as the diminutive of *ange* is not uncommon in the fifteenth century,⁷ but with what purpose did Barbet choose to describe his creation as a "little angel"? Measuring almost four feet (46 inches) in height, it is far from being small in relation to the many genuinely little angels of wood, stone, and metal that were made to serve innumerable purposes by the late Gothic sculptors. The most reasonable explanation is that the angel was too large to be thought of in the same category as these statuettes, which were accessory objects and could be picked up in the hand; it was designed on the scale of a monumental, life-size figure, but compared to a height of six feet, its height of less than four feet is diminutive. The exact meaning intended by the use of *angelot* is important not only for descriptive reasons, but for what it may imply as to the original purpose of the figure, a matter to be discussed later on. The second point relates to the much-discussed question of whether the mediaeval

3. Paul Vitry, *Michel Colombe et la sculpture française de son temps*, Paris, 1901, p. 86.

4. Natalis Rondot, *L'art et les artistes à Lyon du XIV^e au XVIII^e siècle*, Lyon, 1902, p. 17.

5. For a list of the Lyons archives and all early bibliography relating to Barbet, see Marius Audin and Eugene Vial, *Dictionnaire des artistes et ouvriers d'art du Lyonnais*, Paris, 1918, I, p. 52.

6. Two cannons now preserved in the Artillery Museum in Paris were probably made in the foundry directed at this time by Barbet. One is named *Le Saint Gilles* and the second *Le Furieux* and both are inscribed *faict à Lyon 1507* (cf. André

de Champeaux, *Dictionnaire des fondeurs, ciseleurs, modelleurs en bronze et doreurs depuis le moyen-âge*, Paris, 1886, I, pp. 68-69). For a discussion of the profession of cannon founding (1370 to 1505) see Maxe-Werly, "Fondeurs 'tumbiers,' fondeurs de canons, fondeurs de cloches," *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des départements*, XXIII, 1899, pp. 237-249.

7. S.v. in Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française du IX^e au XV^e siècle*, Paris, 1881. Cf. also Henri David, *De Sluter à Sambin*, Paris, 1933, I, p. 34. David states that this diminutive form of the word was derived from the Burgundian dialect.

bronze founders cited by name in such inscriptions were technicians and therefore responsible only for the casting, or designers who invented, sketched, and executed the model. No uniform practice seems to have been followed and, while we cannot be certain, in this instance our knowledge of Barbet's activity as a cannon founder, together with the absence of other artistic work by him, suggests that he was responsible for the technical part of working the metal. In discussing a similar problem Georg Swarzenski points out that at this time the successful casting was doubtless considered the most valuable part of the work.⁸

Certain technical details of the construction of Barbet's figure deserve a brief mention. The material is an alloy of copper, the exact components of which have not been determined, with the finer details smoothed or embossed by hand afterwards. The casting was highly successful with a minimum of minor "faults" or blemishes, which are apparent only in a close examination of the surface (Fig. 4). The average thickness of the metal at the base of the figure is about three-eighths of an inch. Running horizontally across the interior of the lower part of the figure are three crude iron bearings; the first of these is placed six inches from the base, and the last coincides with the indented waistline. In each case the two ends of the bearing cut through the figure and are visible on the exterior surface, appearing as small rectangular blocks or fillings. The bearings were doubtless intended to stabilize the figure in its upright position, but whether they were part of the early (original?) construction, or are a more recent addition, is a matter of conjecture. The fact that their material differs from that of the figure might suggest that they are a later addition, but not too much emphasis can be placed on this point. The composition of mediaeval bronzes and their original surface color are likewise matters of considerable debate. Generally bronze is produced by a mixture of copper and tin in variable proportions and the result is a metal of rich, golden brown color. Much mediaeval metalwork, however, was made of a mixture of copper and zinc, the result being comparable to modern brass and having a light yellow surface color; doubtless one of the reasons for the popularity of this type was its similarity to the appearance of gold. Different technical terms were employed by contemporary writers to refer to these various types of copper alloy: they include *cuprum* and *cuivre rouge* for the dark bronze, and *auricalcum* and *cuivre jaune* for the yellow metal.⁹ Unfortunately these and other similar terms were used so loosely and interchangeably that it is often impossible to tell which type of alloy is referred to. Furthermore, pieces originally brown in color were often gilded, producing *cuivre doré*, and some of those that were yellow have in more recent times been given a dark brown coating, or "patinated" in imitation of Renaissance bronzes. At present Barbet's angel has a dark brown patina which is probably of recent origin. In a test cleaning on a small section of one of the wing lugs, an area normally hidden from view, the removal of the brown patina disclosed a surface color of light yellow.¹⁰ Whether the original surface color was intended to be light yellow is still uncertain, but if so, the transformation the figure would undergo by the removal of the patina can be imagined, changing it from a figure of rather somber tone to one of bright and shining appearance.

The fact that conflicting theories exist regarding Barbet's angel has been mentioned. One of these concerns its original location. Because the angel was in the possession of the Marquis de Talhouet and displayed at Lude when it first attracted general attention, it was perhaps natural to assume that it had always been there. Although the description given in the Catalogue of the Uni-

8. Georg Swarzenski, "The Bronze Baptismal Font by Goteke Klinghe," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, XXXIX, 1941, 236, p. 93.

9. Victor Gay, *Glossaire archéologique du moyen-âge et de la renaissance*, Paris, 1887, s.v. *airain*, *auricalque*, *cuivre*, *dinanderie*, *laiton*, etc.; cf. also Theophilus, *Schedula diversarum artium*, books III, LXII-LXXIII (W. Theobald, *Technik des Kunsthandwerks im zehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1933).

10. This test was made with the generous assistance of Mr.

James J. Rorimer, Curator of Mediaeval Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and The Cloisters. Although it has not been customary for collectors and museums to clean mediaeval bronzes, a number in a group recently acquired by The Cloisters have been cleaned under Mr. Rorimer's direction with very satisfying results (Cf. J. J. Rorimer, "A Treasury at The Cloisters," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, VI, 9, 1948, p. 254).



1. Profile view, facing right



2. Profile view, facing left



3. Back view, wings removed



4. Detail of bust



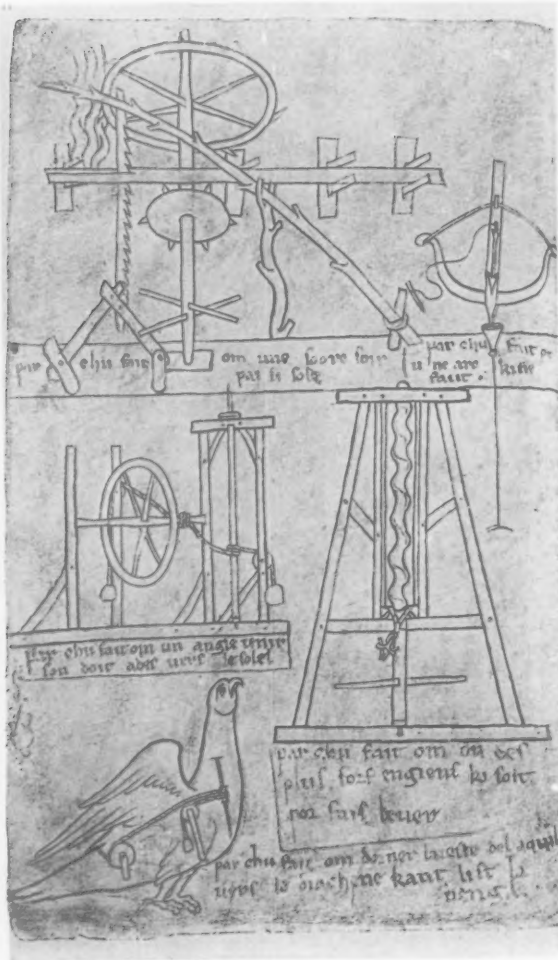
5. Jean Barbet, *Angelot*. Inscription on left wing



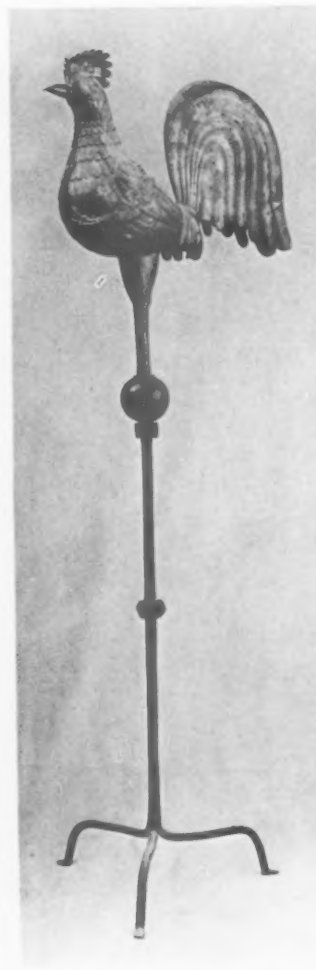
6. London, National Gallery. Master of Saint Giles, *Mass of Saint Giles*, detail



7. Le Lude, Chateau. View of stairway with Jean Barbet's *Angelot*



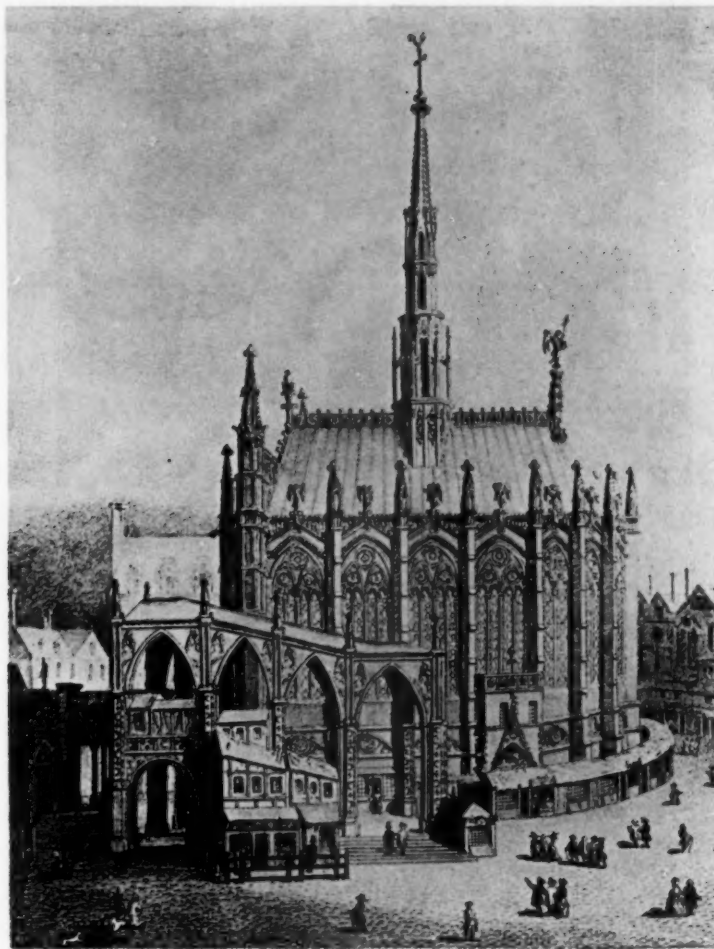
8. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Album of Villard de Honnecourt, fol. 22v



9. New York, Metropolitan Museum. Weather cock. French, fifteenth century



10. Paris, Sainte Chapelle. Nineteenth century angel over chevet



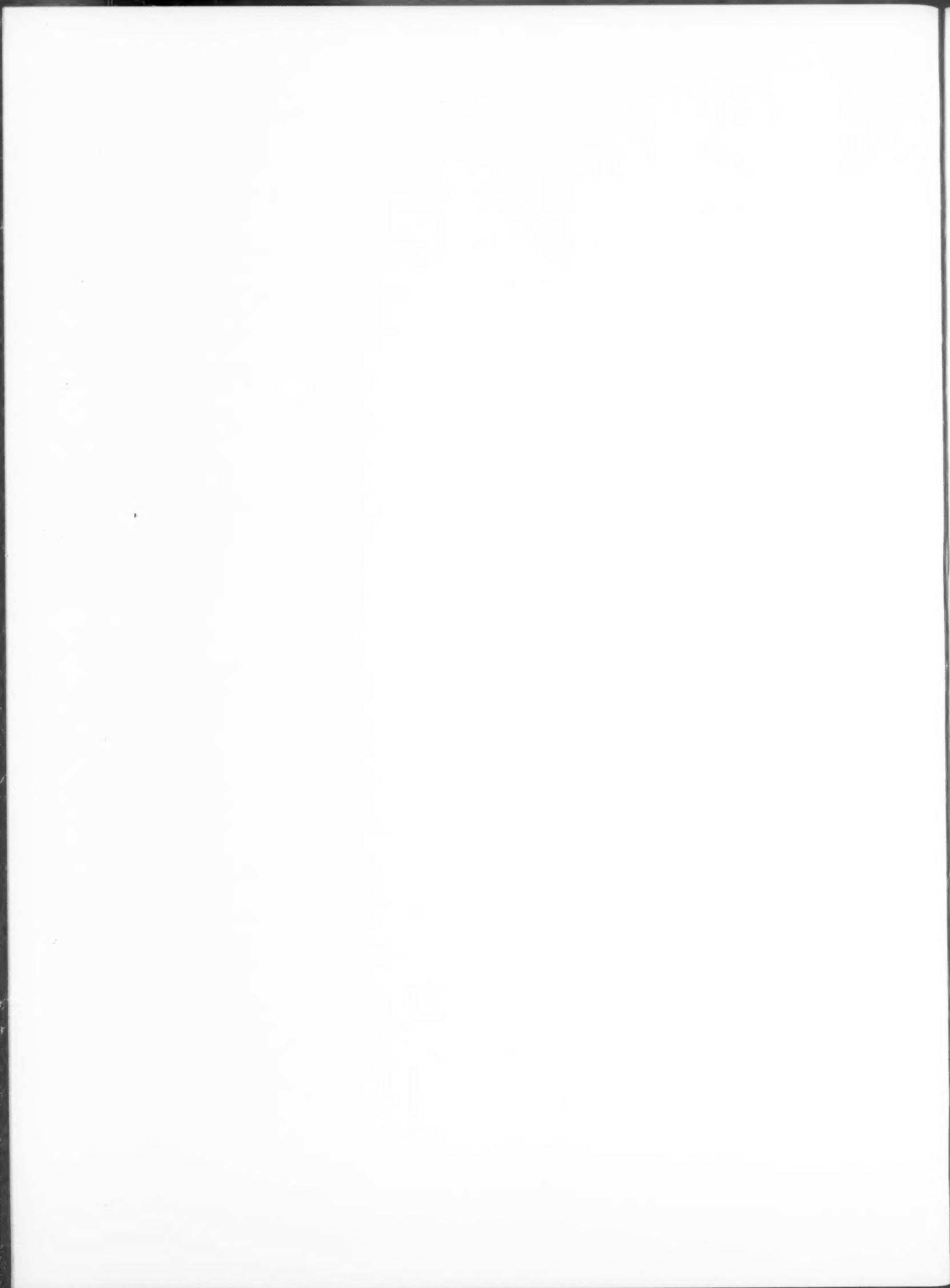
11. View of Sainte Chapelle, Paris, before 1630 (engraving by Ransonnette)



12. Louvre, Paris. Angel with the Purse of Judas. French, fifteenth century



13. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Angel of the Annunciation. French, fifteenth century



versal Exposition of 1867 merely says "provient du Château du Lude,"¹¹ from references made to the figure subsequently it can be implied that the angel was made for this location.¹² By 1901 Paul Vitry did not hesitate to state that it was indeed made for the early seigneurs of Lude,¹³ and this opinion was repeated by Wilhelm Bode in his "Catalogue of Bronzes in the Morgan Collection."¹⁴ The belief has since been widely accepted and appears in recent authoritative studies of French mediaeval sculpture by Marcel Aubert¹⁵ and Joan Evans.¹⁶ The hypothesis is one which coincides neatly with the history of the Château du Lude, situated in the department of the Sarthe. The main portion of the present structure was built during the second half of the fifteenth century for Jean de Daillon, the friend of Charles VII and companion of Louis XI. It was enlarged in the eighteenth century and since then has undergone frequent changes and additions, including an extensive restoration of both interior and exterior begun in 1853 for the Marquis de Talhouet.¹⁷ As the date of Barbet's figure fits exactly with the first period of major building activity at Lude, it has been possible to assume that the commission for the work was given to Barbet by Jean de Daillon, or by his architect, Jean Gendrot. Actually no documentary evidence has ever been cited to substantiate this belief, a rather surprising omission in the case of a building for which extensive historical records exist.

In contrast, another series of French scholars has insisted that the angel was not made originally for this site, and at least two of these accounts were published soon after the Paris exhibition of 1867. Following a visit to Lude in 1878, Léon Palustre concluded his account of the figure with the remark that "it comes, it is said, from Saint-Martin d'Ablois (Marne)."¹⁸ In 1886 André de Champeaux included Barbet in his *Dictionnaire des fondeurs* and stated that the angel came from "a château in the département of the Seine and Marne."¹⁹ What sources of information were available to these two writers it is now impossible to say, but the form of their statements and the fact that they do not agree in naming the original location implies that their information was less than precise. They do agree, however, in finding the location elsewhere than Lude and the fact that both accounts are much closer in time to the "discovery" of the figure than either Vitry's or Bode's does not diminish their importance. The belief that the angel was not made originally for Lude has been expressed in more recent times in the catalogue descriptions of the cast made after it which is in the Trocadéro Museum in Paris: by Camille Enlart and Jules Roussel in 1910,²⁰ and by Jules Roussel in 1932.²¹ In both instances it is described as of "undetermined provenance," but as having been "preserved at the Château of Lude." In the first of these catalogues the authors add the information that the statue was "acquired in Paris toward the middle of the nineteenth century." Until further documentation makes it possible to determine the exact source, it is best to describe the angel as coming from an unknown location. Certainly there is no reason to associate it with the Château du Lude except for the period beginning around 1853, when the extensive restorations carried out by the Marquis de Talhouet were begun, and ending in 1905, when it was acquired by J. Pierpont Morgan.

Related to the problem of the angel's original location is the matter of its intended use, and this, too, has been the subject of conflicting opinion: was it originally meant to be an element of exterior architectural decoration, or a part of an interior sculptural display? It will be recalled that during

11. *Catalogue général, op.cit.*, p. 115, no. 1827.

12. Natalis Rondot, *Les sculpteurs de Lyon du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1884, p. 20, no. 32; L. Courajod and F. Marcou, *Musée de Sculpture Comparée, Catalogue raisonné*, Paris, 1892, p. 134, no. 710.

13. Vitry, *Michel Colombe*, p. 84.

14. Wilhelm Bode, *Catalogue of Bronzes in the Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan*, Paris, 1910, I, pp. xli, 1-2.

15. Aubert, *La sculpture française au moyen-âge*, 1946, p. 410.

16. Joan Evans, *Art in Medieval France*, London, 1948, p.

172.

17. Henry Soulangé-Bodin, *Châteaux du Maine et l'Anjou*, Paris, 1934, pp. 51-55, pl. xxxix.

18. Léon Palustre, "Un bronze du XVe siècle," *Bulletin monumental*, Paris, XLIV, 1878, pp. 165-166. Ablois Saint-Martin is a small village south of Reims.

19. A. de Champeaux, *Dictionnaire*, I, pp. 68-69.

20. Camille Enlart and Jules Roussel, *Catalogue général du Musée de Sculpture Comparée*, Paris, 1910, p. 144, E. 89.

21. Jules Roussel, *La sculpture française, Époque gothique*, Paris, 1932, 2-III, pp. 12, 15.

the fifty-odd years it was at Lude the angel served in both capacities. For some time before it was exhibited at Paris in 1867 it is known to have been placed outdoors on one of the towers of the château where, according to the Exposition catalogue, it served *en guise de girouette*.²² Baron de Wismes' lithographic view records the exterior appearance of the château during the early 1860's,²³ but unfortunately the angel is not included in this particular view of the building. By 1878 when Leon Palustre visited Lude²⁴ the angel had been brought indoors and placed on the newel post of the main staircase (Fig. 7). As early as the time of its exhibition in Paris the angel held a modern wooden cross in his left hand; probably six feet in length, it was modeled on the scale of a large, processional cross.

Both Vitry and Bode expressed the belief that Barbet's angel was originally intended to serve as a weather vane in the traditional manner.²⁵ Comparatively few Gothic weather vanes have survived, but many examples can be studied in manuscript illuminations and there is an extensive literature on the subject.²⁶ The use of vanes was strictly regulated until as late as the sixteenth century and only the nobility had the right to place them on their houses. The most common form for a private house was a simple pennon or square banner, but religious buildings were permitted to display more elaborate forms including the figures of saints or angels, birds and animals. A favorite device was the cock, familiar symbol of the preacher, and one such example is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a fifteenth century French weather cock of embossed copper (Fig 9). With its tail raised to receive the wind it could revolve freely, turning on the round ball at its base. Bode and others have suggested that Barbet's angel was designed to act in this same manner, but a realistic examination of the figure with this aim in mind raises certain doubts. Would its comparatively heavy weight have turned easily on its uneven base, and should not the wings point upward and not down if this were its function?

If Barbet's angel was planned for exterior use, rather than as an ordinary weather vane, it is much more likely to have been a special kind of rooftop ornament, one that is illustrated and described by the French thirteenth century architect, Villard de Honnecourt. In his Album, on folio 22 verso,²⁷ he shows a number of magical devices: a mechanical saw, a crossbow that cannot miss, a winch, an eagle that turns his head while the deacon reads, and (in the middle of the page on the left) a mechanism for a "turning angel" (Fig. 8). The mechanism worked on a clock principle with weights revolving a central screw. It was placed between the stone vaulting and the lead roof, with the top of its axis projecting slightly above the roof and the base of the angel resting on its circular platform. Honnecourt's text explains: "par chu fait om un angle tenir son doit ades vers le soleil" (in this way one makes an angel hold his finger always toward the sun). This invention of a "turning angel" presents an appealing combination of mediaeval devoutness and ingenuity, and it is an attractive thought to imagine Barbet's figure fitted onto the mechanism, beginning to turn in the morning and following the sun throughout the day.²⁸ "Turning angels" are supposed to have

22. *Catalogue général, op.cit.*, p. 115, no. 1827.

23. Baron de Wismes, *Le Maine et l'Anjou*, Nantes, 1854-62, II, p. 15, pl. 56.

24. Palustre, *Bulletin monumental*, XLIV, 1878, pp. 165-166. Additional views showing the angel on the staircase are given in Vitry, *Michel Colombe*, pp. 84-85.

25. Vitry, *op.cit.*, pp. 84-86; Bode, *Catalogue of Morgan Bronzes*, I, pp. 1-2.

26. A comprehensive typewritten "Bibliography on Weather Vanes" by Corinne W. Spencer (1938) is on file in the Avery Library of Columbia University; see especially Eustache de La Quèrière, *Essai sur les girouettes, épis, crêtes et autres décorations des anciens combles et pignons*, Paris, 1846.

27. Cf. Hans R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt*, Vienna, 1935, pp. 134-135, pl. 44.

28. This device is of great interest to historians of early

clockwork and a full consideration of its mechanical aspects involves many technical problems. Presumably the motion was stopped at sunset and the position reset for the following morning. To follow the sun's path throughout the changing seasons of the year would also require frequent variations in the adjustment. One writer has suggested that in addition, an up and down motion of the arm of the angel would be necessary! Even assuming that Honnecourt's drawing gives only a rough idea of the device, it is unlikely that the actual mechanism was capable of producing more than an approximation of "following the sun," and this an achievement which required considerable human assistance. Despite this fact, it remains one of the most imaginative of mediaeval inventions. (Cf. J. B. Lassus and J. Quicherat, *Facsimile of the Sketchbook of Wilars de Honnecourt*, translated and edited by Robert Willis, London, 1859, p. 159.)

ornamented the roofs and towers of a number of mediaeval churches.²⁹ Jean de France, the Duc de Berry, had them placed on his Sainte Chapelle at Bourges³⁰ and the chapel of his château at Mehun-sur-Yvre.³¹ The only example which seems to have survived to our day is the twelfth century angel of gilded copper which was placed on top of the spire of the central tower over the crossing of the church at Le Dorat (Haut-Vienne).³² An angel which once decorated the eastern end of Sainte Chapelle in Paris is also supposed to have been of this type. The present figure of lead (Fig. 10) is a restoration made by Lassus in 1853 for which it was planned to provide the turning mechanism, but this part of the project was never carried out.³³ Lassus' figure was carefully copied after the original angel which occupied this position before the fire of 1630, a figure whose appearance is known from an engraving by Ransonnette (Fig. 11). The angel held a large processional cross and in many respects so resembles Barbet's that it has frequently been claimed that it was actually Barbet's figure which was made for this location.³⁴ But Sainte Chapelle in Paris, although it is easy to overlook the fact, is not a small building. From its base to the top of the roof it measures 135 feet, and the central spire, the other dominant motif rising above the roof, extends for an additional 100 feet. Lassus' rooftop angel, carefully modeled after the original, measures approximately ten feet in height and is raised on a base of this same height.³⁵ Barbet's angel, less than four feet in height, would appear dwarfed and out of scale if it were raised to the elevation of Sainte Chapelle.³⁶ In this connection it is well to recall our earlier discussion of the fact that Barbet chose to describe his figure as an *angelot* or "little angel." Considered from the point of view of its use on the high point of a church roof, the use of the diminutive might be significant; certainly, in comparison with the angel of Sainte Chapelle, Barbet's figure is a "little angel." Although the relative scale of Barbet's figure prevents us from considering it as once having decorated the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, we may still ask whether it could have been used in a similar fashion on some smaller chapel or church. This is indeed a possibility and one which must be left open for future discussion. But apart from the question of size, certain other details of design and appearance need to be kept in mind in coming to a decision regarding its use as an element of rooftop decoration. Sculptured figures intended to be placed on a high elevation usually have, when seen close-to, a rough and exaggerated modeling; it is a necessary practice if the details are to carry firmly when observed from a great distance. There is a marked contrast between the treatment of Barbet's figure, which is notable for the refinement of its detail even when studied at close range (as in Fig. 4), and that of such figures as the sixteenth century angel on the roof near the new tower of Chartres Cathedral.³⁷

29. Examples include the cathedrals of Canterbury (Hahnloser, *op.cit.*, pp. 134-135) and Chartres (J. Quicherat, "Notice sur l'album de Villard de Honnecourt," *Revue archéologique*, 1849, pp. 76-77).

30. Henry Clutton, *Illustrations of Mediaeval Architecture in France*, London, 1856, p. 39; Paul Gauchery, "Mémoire historique et descriptif du Palais construit à Bourges," *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre*, Bourges, XXI, 1897, pl. x.

31. A. de Champeaux and P. Gauchery, *Les travaux d'art exécutés pour Jean de France, duc de Berry*, Paris, 1894, p. 51, pl. 1.

32. It is difficult to obtain information regarding this important figure. According to the Abbé Texier this angel is life-size, measuring approximately six feet high, and originally held a cross (Jacques R. A. Texier, *Dictionnaire d'orfèvrerie, de gravure et de ciselure chrétienne*, Paris, 1857, p. 127, s.v. *ange*, and p. 819, s.v. *girouette*). General views of the church usually show the spire of the tower without any decoration (e.g. R. de Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane*, Paris, 1929, p. 385, fig. 405), but recent descriptions speak of the angel as if it were still in place (cf. René Fage, "Eglise du Dorat," *Congrès archéologique de France tenue à Limoges en 1921*, Paris, 1923, p. 190; and A. de Laborderie,

"Eglise et vieilles maisons du Dorat," *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, Limoges, LXXVII, 1938, p. 399). The only close-up illustration of the figure known to me is the crude drawing given in Laborderie's article (*ibid.*, p. 396, fig. 24), which shows the angel holding a long iron rod, on the upper part of which is affixed an ordinary weather vane.

33. Cf. M. de Guilhermy, *La Sainte Chapelle de Paris après les restaurations*, Paris, 1857, p. 2.

34. E.g. *Arts of the Middle Ages, A Loan Exhibition*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1940, p. 60, no. 199; *Art News*, XLIII, February 15-29, 1944, p. 8.

35. Cf. Henri Stein, *Le Palais de Justice et la Sainte Chapelle de Paris*, Paris, 1927, pp. 209-210.

36. Similarly, its size prevents it from being identified as one of the angels originally placed over the center of each window as shown in Ransonnette's engraving (Fig. 11). Replacements for these were not included in the nineteenth century restorations.

37. Cf. *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, Editions "Tel," photographs by André Vigneau, Paris, 1934, pl. 43. The same exaggerated treatment is found in the Weather Cock in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fig. 9.

Furthermore, if the figure had been exposed out-of-doors for any considerable length of time, it might be expected to show some signs of weathering. While its present surface is not the original one, there are underneath the brown patina no perceptible signs of long exposure to the weather. Both this refined modeling and the relatively unimpaired surface, as well as the scale of the figure, will have to be taken into account in judging whether it can have been intended to serve as one of the picturesque "turning angels" described by Villard de Honnecourt.

The thought of Barbet's angel serving as part of an interior display has never received a great deal of attention, probably because the idea is more conventional and much less dramatic than a "turning angel" on a rooftop. But historically, there is every reason to give just as serious consideration to this possibility as to its use on an exterior. It has already been mentioned that for a number of years the angel decorated the newel post of the main stairway at Lude (Fig. 7). A study of that installation, or a close analysis of the figure itself, will emphasize certain features that become important if it was intended to have an interior setting. One of these is the elongation of the figure, particularly the lengthening which occurs in the body from the waist to the feet, as noted earlier (Fig. 3). This is a treatment appropriate for a work of sculpture that is to be displayed on a column or pedestal. The same effect of the elongation is a fact which has been confirmed by our experience while photographing the angel in the Frick Collection. It was found that to be seen with any degree of effectiveness the figure had to be raised on a base, with the eye or camera somewhere below the waistline, looking up. This same conception of design explains the downward tilt of the head. Thus if it was displayed in an interior, it is certain that it was not placed directly on the floor, but raised upon a column or pedestal. Another feature which claims our attention indoors where the figure can be observed at fairly close range is the exact position of the hands and the purpose of their gestures. Did the angel originally hold a cross in his left hand, or was it some other object? If he stood on a column or pedestal, does the pointing finger of his right hand imply that there was something he could point toward, and that the angel was not an isolated figure but part of a sculptural group?

To answer these questions it is necessary to consider the various ways the angel might have been used in a church interior. Palustre believed that it might be one of the angels used for marking off the altar enclosure,³⁸ a common practice in French ecclesiastical usage during the later Middle Ages. The usual arrangement included four columns joined by connecting rods which supported the curtains for enclosing the altar, with the tops of the columns decorated by the figures of angels. Representations of this type of enclosure are found in numerous fifteenth century manuscript illustrations,³⁹ and in at least one well-known painting, *The Mass of Saint Giles* in the National Gallery in London (Fig. 6). The painting is the work of an unknown Flemish artist active in Paris around 1500, and the scene depicted is taking place before the high altar of the Abbey of Saint Denis.⁴⁰ Because of the angle adopted by the painter for his view, only one of the angel quartet is visible, but four angels on the tops of columns are mentioned in this location in the Inventory of 1505; they are described as being of "fin cuyvre doré."⁴¹ In the scene at Saint Denis and elsewhere the pose adopted by these angels differs from Barbet's—usually both hands are brought together in front

38. Palustre, "Un bronze du XVe siècle," *L'union historique et littéraire du Maine, Recueil mensuel*, 1, Le Mans, 1895, pp. 231-234.

39. Examples from manuscripts by Jean Fouquet include the following: *Les Heures d'Etienne Chevalier*, Chantilly, Musée Condé, The Annunciation, The Consecration of St. Nicolas; *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, Paris, Bib. Nat., ms fr. 6465, fol. 70r; and *Les antiquités Judaïques*, Paris, Bib. Nat., ms fr. 247, fol. 293v (cf. Klaus G. Perls, *Jean Fouquet*, Paris, 1940, p. 36, pl. 4; p. 65, pl. 33; p. 91, pl. 58; p. 215, pl. 248). For an example by a Flemish illuminator see the *Book of Hours*, Vienna, National Library, Cod. 1857, fol. 14v

(cf. Otto Pacht, *Master of Mary of Burgundy*, London, 1948, pl. 12).

40. Martin Davies, *National Gallery Catalogue: Early Netherlandish School*, London, 1940, pp. 72-73, no. 4681.

41. H. Omont, "Inventaire du trésor et des objets précieux conservés dans l'église de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en 1505," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France*, xxviii, Paris, 1901, p. 185, no. 191. The size of the angel shown in the National Gallery painting is much smaller than Barbet's, but the perspective of the painting is an arbitrary one, and the angels represented in the manuscripts cited above are of varying heights.

of the figure where they are used to hold a candlestick, and often their wings are raised. While it is not impossible that Barbet's angel served in this capacity, its design would not have conformed with that customarily shown in the representations. Palustre suggested as an alternate possibility that it might have been one of a group of Angels with the Instruments of the Passion, a popular theme of the period.⁴² Three fifteenth century wooden Passion reliefs from the Touraine and now in the Louvre suggest the appearance of the subject.⁴³ One of them in particular, the Angel with the Purse of Judas (Fig. 12), forms an interesting comparison with Barbet's figure, even though it is in relief and not in the round. The similarity of such details as the robe, the bare feet, the wings and especially the hair with its band and central rosette, may be noted. In this case the left hand of Barbet's figure would have held the Cross or some other Instrument. But the pointing finger of the right hand is difficult to reconcile with this interpretation.

It is in fact this gesture which leads us to consider another possibility, namely, the scene of the Annunciation, in which an angel with a pointing finger is a necessity. In the fifteenth century, representations of the Annunciation no longer followed a single formula, but innumerable variations are found in both painting and sculpture.⁴⁴ A fifteenth century Gabriel may stand or kneel, he may be on the right side or the left, but he usually holds an object in his left hand such as the lily, the cross, or scepter, and points toward the Virgin with the finger of his right hand. The theme of the Annunciation had achieved major importance in mediaeval French sculpture in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when adjacent figures of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin were a significant element of cathedral portal decoration, as shown by the examples at Chartres, Amiens, and Reims. The subject was taken up and treated independently in Italy, especially by the sculptors of Tuscany, where in the fourteenth century a large number of Annunciation groups are attributed to Nino Pisano and his followers, and in the early fifteenth century other groups are associated with Jacopo della Quercia and his circle.⁴⁵ Many of these Italian Annunciation groups are of wood and were displayed underneath the portico or in the interior of a church. French examples of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries on a monumental scale, although not as numerous as those in Italy, are sufficient to indicate the tradition of an independent treatment for the Annunciation.⁴⁶ A French fifteenth century wooden Angel of the Annunciation now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Fig. 13),⁴⁷ forms the closest parallel with Barbet's figure, particularly if compared in the profile view (Fig. 2). Taking into account the differences due to its wooden material, such as the widening of the base for greater support, the similarities include: the form of the wings and their relationship to the body, the arrangement of the hair, the pointing finger of the right hand, and the clasped left

42. Palustre, *L'union historique et littéraire du Maine*, 1895, p. 234.

43. Paul Vitry, *Musée du Louvre: Catalogue des sculptures du moyen-âge*, Paris, 1922, p. 28, nos. 243-245. These reliefs are of considerable size, measuring 35 3/8 inches in height, and were formerly in the church at Rouziers (Indre-et-Loire).

44. Cf. David M. Robb, "The Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *ART BULLETIN*, XVIII, 1936, pp. 480-520; and Jean Villette, *L'ange dans l'art d'occident du XIIIe au XVIe siècle*, Paris, 1940, chap. IV: L'Ange de l'Annonciation.

45. Cf. R. van Marle, "L'Annonciation dans la sculpture monumentale de Pise et de Sienne," *La revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, LXV, 1934, pp. 111-126, 165-182; and W. Haftmann, "Jacopo della Quercia und die sienesische Skulptur des Quattrocento," *Pantheon*, XXII, 1938, pp. 367-375. The attitude and pose of Barbet's angel is often foreshadowed in these figures (cf. Martin Weinberger, "Nino Pisano," *ART BULLETIN*, XIX, p. 80, fig. 25; and W. R. Valentiner, "Orcagna and the Black Death of 1348," *Art Quarterly*, XII, p. 115, fig. 2).

46. Examples include the following: fourteenth century—Virgin of Annunciation from the church of Javernant, Louvre,

Paris (Vitry, *Cat. des sculpt. moyen-âge*, 1922, p. 16, no. 151); Virgin of Annunciation, church of Ecouis (Eure) (M. Aubert, *La Sculpt. fr. moyen-âge*, 1946, p. 334, illus.); fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries—Virgin of Annunciation, Louvre, Paris, (Vitry, *op.cit.*, p. 30, no. 266); Virgin of Annunciation, Louvre, Paris, (Vitry, *op.cit.*, p. 32, no. 277); Annunciation Groups from churches of Flavignerot and Molinons (H. David, *De Sluter à Sambin*, 1933, I, p. 64-65, fig. 23); Angel of Annunciation, formerly Brummer Collection, N.Y. (Sale Cat. of Joseph Brummer Coll., I, Parke-Bernet Galleries, N.Y., April 20-23, 1949, p. 144, no. 575); Annunciation Group from Eglise des Récollets, Musée des Augustins, Toulouse (M. de Bévotte, *La sculpture à la fin de la période gothique dans la région de Toulouse, d'Albi, et de Rodez, 1400-1520*, Paris, 1936, p. 40, pl. viib); Virgin of Annunciation, Musée Archéologique, Rodez (Bévotte, *op.cit.*, pp. 104-105, pl. XXX); Annunciation Group, church of Inières (Bévotte, *op.cit.*, pp. 105-106, pl. XXXI).

47. Victoria and Albert Museum: *Review of Principal Acquisitions in 1914*, London, 1915, p. 7, pl. 4. From the Fitzhenry Collection. The wood is painted and gilded; its height is 36 1/2 inches.

hand. Is it too hypothetical then to imagine Barbet's angel as part of an Annunciation group of which the Virgin is now lost?⁴⁸ If he held a cross instead of the scepter or lily, it was probably small in size rather than on the large scale of the modern processional cross given to him at Lude (Fig. 7). The two figures would have been placed on columns and used to decorate the interior of a chapel or the wall of a small sanctuary. One possible form of installation for such a group is suggested by the setting given to the Annunciation represented as sculpture in grisaille on the exterior wings of the Triptych of the Burning Bush, a work completed by Nicolas Froment in 1476 and now in the cathedral of Saint-Sauveur at Aix-en-Provence.⁴⁹ The wings of this altarpiece when closed show two separate stone niches side by side: in the one at the left stands the Angel Gabriel, in the one at the right the Virgin. Each figure has its own base and an elaborate canopy overhead. If this interpretation is the correct one, Barbet's work may be looked upon as a late or *détente* reflection of some earlier Annunciation. Compared with thirteenth century Annunciation angels such as those from the west façades of the cathedrals of Amiens or Reims, it is not difficult to recognize how much of its dignity and refinement are derived from earlier mediaeval tradition.

The position of the hands, the style, and the proportions of the figure thus make it possible to consider Barbet's angel as part of an Annunciation group, and it is tempting to conclude that it was originally intended for this use in a church interior. Our knowledge of the early history of the angel is, however, so incomplete that until further information is available the possibility of its having been one of Villard de Honnecourt's "turning angels" cannot entirely be abandoned. So far as the design of the figure is concerned, the difference between its use as an element of exterior architectural decoration and its use as part of an interior sculptural display is not great; it could have been either, a fact that was demonstrated by its successive use in each capacity during the time it was owned by the Marquis de Talhouet. In each case the inspiration of its purpose, like the formalism of its style, would have deep roots in earlier Gothic tradition. Its original source is still undetermined, but what can be stated definitely is that the popular title by which this late mediaeval work of art has been known in recent years, the *Ange du Lude*, is a misnomer. Jean Barbet's figure was associated with the château at Lude for only a brief period of its existence, and following the clear indication of its maker it ought to be known not as an *ange*, but an *angelot*.

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48. If the figure was intended as part of an Annunciation Group the question may arise whether this use should not be reflected in the inscription in some way, or whether it would be proper to refer to Gabriel as an *angelot*. Inscriptions on mediaeval works of art which relate to purpose or subject are found so infrequently that it would seem little can be inferred

by the absence of such a reference here, and the same lack of precedent applies in regard to the propriety of a reference to Gabriel.

49. Cf. Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting 1400-1500*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1949, pls. 127-128. Cat. no. 216.

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Compiled by
John R. Martin
Princeton University

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